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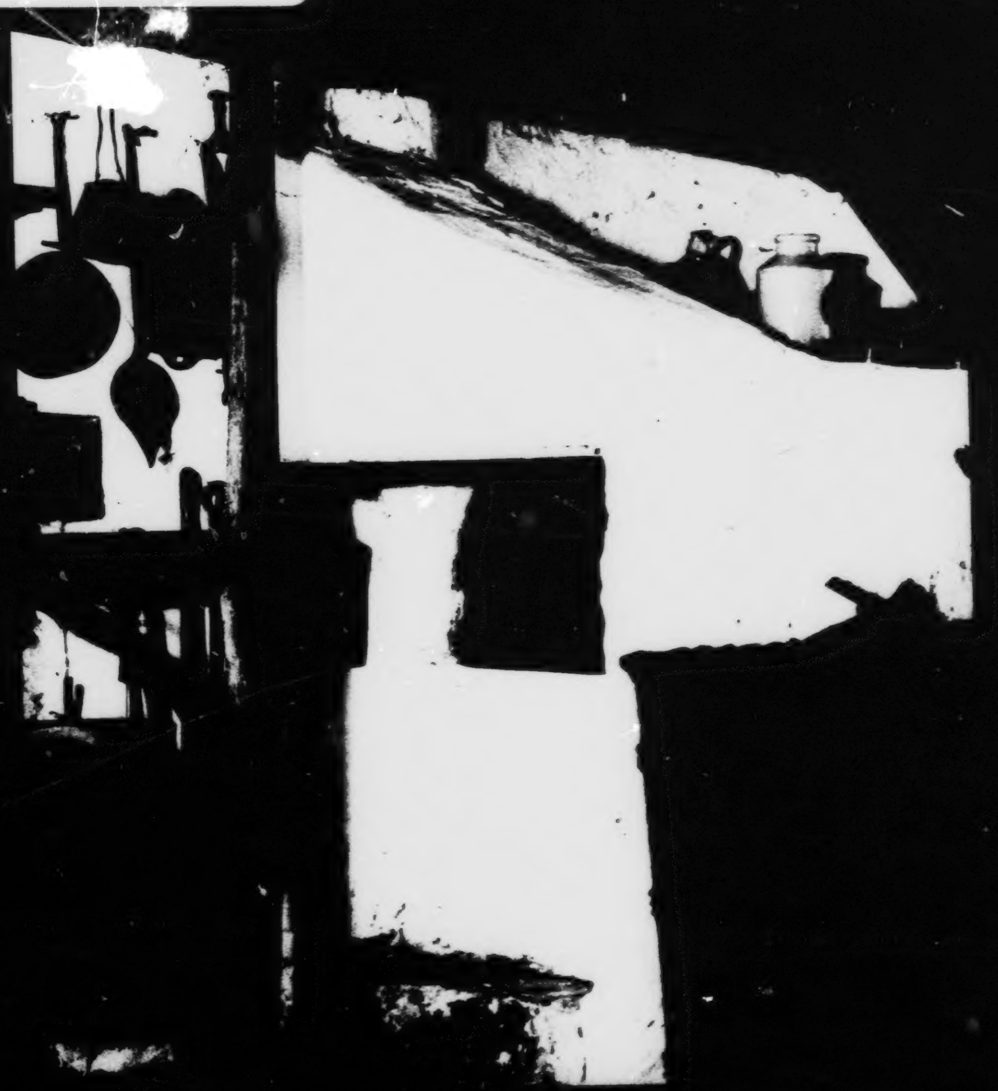

History and Archaeology
58

DOMESTIC LIFE AT LES FORGES DU SAINT-MAURICE

Luce Vermette

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Front Cover: 18th century fireplace, home of Mr. and Mrs. P.-H. Guimont, Ile d'Orléans.

Back Cover: Chamois waistcoat (Vaudreuil-Soulanges Regional Museum); cast-iron cooking pot bearing an inscription "F.St.M." (Ferme St-Gabriel collection, Pointe Saint-Charles); silver tumbler, inscribed "Clode Gaudar" and bearing the hallmark of Joseph Maillou, silversmith in Quebec (Museum of the Convent of the Ursulines, Three Rivers); oil lamp, today called *bec-de-corbeau* (Ferme St-Gabriel collection, Pointe Saint-Charles); maple chest (National Museum of Man, Ottawa).

Parks Canada Parcs Canada

DOMESTIC LIFE AT LES FORGES DU SAINT-MAURICE

Luce Vermette

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ABSTRACT

This study presents a description of all those things in everyday domestic use at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice indicating the various types of activities involved. But such activities, objects and items of furnishings, being but elements of a larger whole, should be examined in relation to the life of the occupants of a house whose habits, lifestyle and social position they reflect. No study of this domestic life is possible, however, without, so to speak, a dissociation of the whole; one must provide a detailed description of the items, describe how people were housed, heated and lighted, how they prepared and consumed their food, how they cared for their health, how they dressed, what were their sports and games, and how they rested from their labours. This survey will be mainly concerned with two periods: the French régime (1729-60) and the Mathew Bell administration (1793-1845).

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I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of those persons or organizations who have kindly authorized the use of illustrations of items from their collections for this study.

NOTE

Several old French standards of length, volume and weight have been used in this paper. The *aune de Paris* is equivalent to the "ell," an old English measurement of about 45 inches. The monetary unit used here is based on the French *livre* (L) of 20 *sols* (s) or the English pound of 20 shillings (s) - i.e. 240 pence (p). The French *livre* was worth one twenty-fourth of the English pound (£).

Terminology of people's trades or crafts is based on English documents of Les Forges and on terminology used by historians working on the project. Furniture terminology is based on *The early furniture of French Canada* by Jean Palardy and translated by Eric McLean. Utensil terminology is based on *From hearth to cookstove* by Linda Franklin.

FOREWORD

The forges of Saint-Maurice were the first attempt at the development of a Canadian metal industry and the only industry sanctioned under the French régime. Credit for the establishment of this steel plant must go to François Poulin de Francheville, Seigneur of Saint-Maurice. On March 23, 1730 he was authorized to work the iron ore deposits of the Three Rivers area. Thus began the long history of the forges which was to extend over more than a century and a half. The furnaces were extinguished for the last time in 1883. So came to an end the oldest ironworks on the continent.

Les Forges du Saint-Maurice is on the west bank of the Saint-Maurice river, 11 km or so above Three Rivers (Fig. 1). The history of the workings of the forges extends from 1729 to 1883 - covering the years of the French régime, the English régime and the early years of Confederation. Originally they were administered by a company of gentlemen subsidized by The King of France. The company having failed, Les Forges, as of 1743, became a crown company. When Canada was conquered by the British it was transferred to the British crown. From 1767 to 1845 Les Forges were leased in turn to a series of businessmen or politicians, among whom Mathew Bell held a prominent place; he headed the firm from 1793 to 1845. From 1845 to 1883 Les Forges was sold to a number of private individuals. Subsequently the site was used for agriculture or cattle raising and the stream provided water to run a sawmill and a flour mill (App. A).

In 1963 the grounds were occupied by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, which initiated diggings on the site and in 1973 they became a national historic site. At that point the Research Division, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs decided to proceed with archaeological excavation and research with a view to the preservation and development of the site.

A team of historians was created to gather existing material and undertake a series of studies related to the political, economic and social history of the place as well as to such events as had occurred there. In addition these studies were directed to historiographical aspects of the works, to domestic and industrial architecture, as well as to actual industrial production, the technology of iron, the environment, the various trades and the domestic life of the inhabitants. To this end an extensive search was carried

Figure 1. Location plan of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice - indicates the relative position of the towns of Three Rivers and Cap-de-la-Madeleine, represented by some buildings, as well as that of Les Forges, represented by a single building.

out of records held in Ottawa, Three Rivers, Quebec and Montreal as well as in certain private and public collections. This work was supplemented by a considerable number of oral investigations which proved to be most rewarding. The data assembled were then classified and compiled using a computerized system.

This study of the domestic life of the inhabitants of Les Forges is therefore based on a very considerable volume of data. Some documents, mostly drawn from notarial records, have been especially important in our study. Others have yielded only fragmentary items of information. Yet, here again, when examined in conjunction the one with the other, they have also provided very valuable information.

This study was conceived as part of an extensive project to research and interpret Les Forges du Saint-Maurice. The project was designed for the various participants; historians, archaeologists, artifact analysts, and conservators or designers from the Interpretation Division. Thus pride of place has been given to the descriptive aspect. A large number of tables, originally reproduced in Manuscript Report Series, No. 274 (1977), do not appear here.

INTRODUCTION

The domestic life of the inhabitants of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, 1729-1883 constitutes a very extensive and complicated subject for discussion. Its extent cannot in fact be properly appreciated without a prior attempt at defining a number of terms.

Terms

la vie domestique ...

Domestic life may be defined as the sum total of those activities in which the members of a given community are involved, in and around their dwelling place. It is, in fact, made up of those vital and intimate activities which take place indoors within an enclosed space used for eating, drinking, warming oneself, resting and indeed in some instances where one is born and dies. Consequently any description of domestic life must of necessity involve a description of a number of objects and pieces of furniture. All these - activities, objects, furniture - form an indivisible whole; their relation to the occupants of the house is close and intimate. They reflect their lifestyles and social status. No proper study of this domestic life is possible without a detailed and separate description of each of these elements to show how people were housed and warmed, how light was provided, how they prepared and consumed their food, how they looked after their health, how they dressed, what were their sports and games, and how they rested from their labours.

The purpose of this study is, therefore, on the basis of such data as it was possible to assemble, to describe all those items which served a purpose in domestic life and to identify their proper place in everyday life in its various aspects. At the outset we will be concerned with the focal point - the house itself, the management of space according to various types of activities, the house furnishings and the methods of lighting. An attempt will be made to analyse utensils, tools, items of clothing, underclothing, house linen or toilet necessities, in the light of related activities such as the preparation, consumption or conservation of food, the making and maintenance of clothing and house linen, housekeeping and personal care.

Finally, the various objects and activities related to sports and games as well as to religious practice will be discussed - the latter, however, only briefly, for lack of substantial data on the subject.

...des habitants...

At the time he was setting up his business François Poulin de Francheville had originally looked for construction workers.[1] Few were on hand in the original stages - no more than seven. Indeed the industry's future itself was threatened by the early demise of Francheville.[2] His successor, Pierre Olivier de Vézin was an ironmaster from Champagne. Between 1735 and 1740 he brought over from France, principally from Burgundy, Franche-Comté and Champagne, approximately 80 skilled tradesmen.[3] They and their families were the original nucleus of the population of Les Forges. Ordinary tradesmen and labourers were recruited in Three Rivers and the immediate vicinity of Les Forges. According to the engineer, Louis Franquet, the population, in 1752 was 120.[4]

Following the conquest a number of workmen asked to return to France.[5] At the request of Governor Burton however seven did agree to remain and to continue operating the works.[6] The 1762 census records a population of 72 people at Les Forges.[7] From 1765 on a number of English, Scottish or Irish workers appear - ten or so.[8] The 1784 census records a population of 245 persons of whom 175 were adults.[9] A further point should be made with regard to this period: the gradual turnover of the working force. The remaining survivors from old French days had either retired or died, and had been replaced by their sons. These along with the inhabitants of the adjoining area, provided Les Forges with a new generation of workers.

During the 19th century, with the work proceeding apace, there was no lack of employment at least under Mathew Bell's management. An entry in John Lambert's journal for 1808 records that the company employed 300 people[10] - the figure including those residing on the station as well as outside. The 1825 census records a population of 221 and that of 1831, one of 335.[11] Mathew Bell himself had had a list of inhabitants of Les Forges drawn up in 1829 and again in 1842. For the first of these two years 415 persons were listed and for the second 425.[12] There is some similarity between the census figures and those provided by Bell. But some variations between the sources of information must be noted. They might be attributed to the objectives of the census as contrasted with those pursued by Bell or alternatively, to the fact that these counts were not, in fact, taken at the same time of year. Throughout the period the number of English workers - said to be about 30 - remained very much the same.[13] Most of these, who had arrived at the turn of the century, held administrative positions.[14]

From 1845 to 1863 work slowdowns or stoppages were not followed by any massive exodus of workers. In 1851 the total population was estimated to be 397.[15] During that particular year the 350 non-skilled workmen or labourers (living at Les Forges itself or elsewhere) were without employment. The *Canada Directory* for 1858 speaks of no more than 120 workers at Les Forges.[16] During these interruptions in ironworking employment, the workers turned to agriculture for a living. From 1863 to 1883, under the McDougall family's management, the population (231 in 1873) became somewhat diversified, thus losing its homogeneity.[17] The population was then made up of people belonging to various trades, not necessarily associated with the work of the forges (App. B).

Socially speaking a number of strata can be identified within the population of Les Forges. At the top came the masters, i.e., the administrators (owners or lessees), the director, the superintendent, the ironmaster, the clerk of accounts, the clerk of works, the foreman and, at a later date, the engineer. A little lower down we find skilled tradesmen such as founders, founders' assistants, forgemen, stokers, moulders or craftsmen such as blacksmiths, carpenters, bakers, millers, colliers, and quarrymen. Finally, at the very bottom of the social scale was the common labourer group; fillers, limestone breakers, hodmen, carters, road builders, collier helpers, *feuilleurs*,[18] stackers,[19] woodcutters and the domestic servants of "*La Grande Maison*."

While all these people worked at Les Forges not all preferred to live there. This industrial village had a highly mobile work force, inherent in the very nature of the work. Certain workmen or labourers were hired for a single season only or for such a period as their contract called for. In this instance they lived either at Les Forges - or and this is more generally the case - just outside the station. For some of them work at Les Forges was merely an opportunity to supplement their normal earnings. Permanently employed workers, as a rule, lived on site in accommodation provided by the management. These however, as often as not, settled on land in the vicinity of Les Forges, either during the period of their employment or upon retirement. This study will be concerned only with those who either lived on station or had done so at some time and a record of whose goods and chattels at the time of death was available to the writer.

... des Forges du Saint-Maurice ...

What can have been the appearance of the industrial village of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice? At the time of the French régime, it was that of a small cluster of buildings, industrial or domestic, closely beset by the surrounding bush. Some notion of the character of the place can be derived from descriptions made by various contemporary visitors, the first being Louis Franquet. It dates from 1752.

> As you leave the city (Three Rivers), the road is fine, broad and sandy; there is a house built in the middle which hides the view of the avenue. About two hundred paces farther on, you go up a small rise to the right, then across a plain and through a wood.
>
> As you emerge from the wood, you come to Les Forges. The wood has been partially burnt, and cleared of all tress suitable for building, so that only brush and fir trees are left. Saw in passing a number of passenger pigeons and partridge, and several meadow clearings; at the end of the road, going down to St. Maurice, where the King's forges are located, there is a slope leading to a stream that you cross on a wooden bridge, from which you come to the director's house.
>
> ... The buildings in which the workmen live are located on the same side as the forges, but at a slight distance; they are scattered about without any symmetry or relationship to one another. [Translation][20]

In 1808 John Lambert had been impressed by the surrounding landscape.

> The road to them [Les Forges du Saint-Maurice] is through the woods, at the back of the town [Trois-Rivières], over an elevated sandy soil diversified with gentle acclivities, and covered with a variety of fir- and pine-trees; none of them, however, grow to any great height.
>
> After a pleasant ride of about eight miles, we came to the verge of a lofty cliff, down which the road meanders into an extensive valley where the works are situated. Here the manufactories, the furnaces, forges, and workshops; the barns, stables and outhouses; the habitations of the superintendant and work people belonging to the establishment, with their little gardens and plantations, form altogether a small town. The river St. Maurice, which runs close by the side of the valley, between two lofty banks covered with trees, considerably heightens the beauty of the scene, and, with the surrounding woods and distant mountains, renders its situation truly romantic.[21]

The passing visitor was struck by the romantic appearance of the landscape - considered in a general way. But a closer look at the woods themselves or at the village left one with an altogether different feeling, the entire area being disfigured by traces of coal, ore, slag, scrap and the like. While the romantically inclined visitor might speak of the ever-present sound of rustling leaves the fact of the matter was that in those days "the great hammer of the forges forever rang out, at ten-second intervals, through the branches of the forest." [Translation][22]

On the other hand much was made of the somewhat mysterious workings of the ironworks. The smithy's fire has indeed often been associated with the Devil, the smithy himself beind held to be one set apart from the general run of mankind. There are many legends about the isolation of Les Forges. Thus, to quote Napoléon Caron:

> The isolation of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, because of the poor quality of the land in that area, the little river, which never rises or never falls, which seems so clear and yet would swallow up in its muddy depths anyone foolish enough to attempt to bathe in its deceptively crystal waters, the dark waves of the St. Maurice rolling with a dull murmur into the marshes which extend impenetrably along one shore, the hillside which rises from the other shore like an impregnable wall, all combine to make this village one of the most mysterious spots in Canada.
>
> But, in the evening, when one sees the flames constantly leaping above the furnace and casting a livid glow over the entire village; when one sees the workmen by this light, wandering like phantoms about their former habitations, with their clothing blackened by coal and smoke; and particularly when one thinks that but a few years ago the village was entirely surrounded by leagues of thick forest, one's imagination becomes overwrought, and one cannot but think, "strange things must have happened here." [Translation][23]

What then was this micro-landscape? It was made up of a complex of industrial buildings, cheek-by-jowl with the houses of the workers and masters with their adjoining gardens. There were, also, service buildings such as a bakery, an ice-house, bread ovens, stables for horses or cattle, and barns. We have no picture of the works as they might have appeared in the 18th century. But their appearance in the following century can be ascertained through a number of illustrations, oil paintings, watercolours, washes or - and these are a more faithful representation of reality - photographs from the eighties (Figs. 2-5).

Should one speak of a "station" or a village? Socially the community has formed a village where people lived and worked within a group of buildings used for industrial as well as domestic purposes. As John Lambert put it in 1808:

> The habitations of the superintendent and work people belonging to the establishment with their little gardens and plantations, form all together a small town.[24]

Joseph Bouchette, the surveyor, in his topographical dictionary of Lower Canada, describes the site as it appeared in 1832:

> The foundry itself is replete with conveniences for carrying on an extensive concern; furnaces, forges, casting-houses, work-shops, & c. with the dwelling-houses and other buildings, have together the appearance of a tolerably large village.[25]

When one speaks of village in this context one thinks of territory and people. The Robert dictionary defines a village as "un groupe d'habitants assez important pour avoir une vie propre."[26] This "vie propre" - its own life - involves geographic and social considerations as well as matters of trade, industry and administration. In this respect what was the position of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice?

Politically and administratively speaking Les Forges was considered to be *un poste* (a station). Official documents (notarial records and correspondence) invariably use the word "poste." Its use originated in the fact that Les Forges was part of the royal demesne leased from the Crown as were fur trading posts, under both régimes, French and English. Administratively then the community of Les Forges was in a familiar position. There was no clear distinction between the administration of the village and the management of the works. Work force, services and trade came under company direction.

Most inhabitants of Les Forges were directly employed in the ironworks or in some related occupation (felling trees, provision or processing of supplies, transportation, supervision of work or trade). Others looked after the needs of the people (farmers, bakers, millers, butchers, domestic servants). There were few if any retired workers. The houses belonged to the station. There was very little trade; the management operated a company store. Nor were there any outside business activities worthy of the name, the industrial production being marketed through third-party merchants or agents, either onsite (by the works master or the superintendent) or in Three Rivers, Quebec or Montreal.

Religious needs were satisfied by a missionary and, in later times, by a priest from the diocese of Three Rivers who ministered to the Catholic population at the request or with the permission of the administrator. All this bears

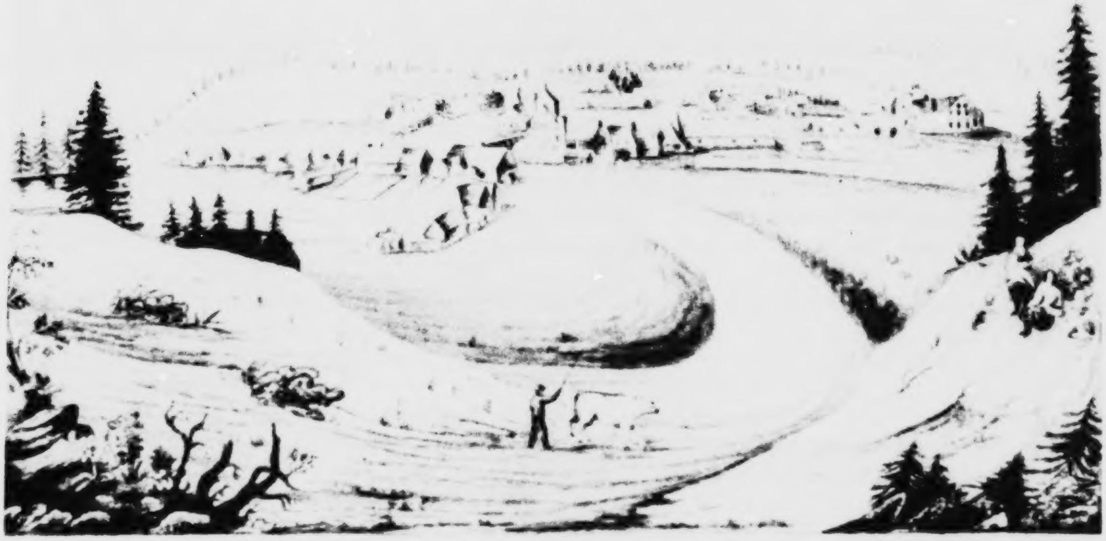


Figure 2. Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, as seen from the plateau.

witness to an attempt at some form of autocracy. By meeting all the essential needs of the inhabitants it was hoped that the activities of the workers would remain confined to the village site itself. Some paternalism was also evident in the attempt to control the comings and goings of the workers, to ensure their proper behaviour and even to reward them on occasion. During the French régime workers were forbidden to leave without the works master's permission on the grounds that they should be kept away from the taverns of Three Rivers. Half a century or so later Mathew Bell boasted of his control over the lives of his workers:

> ... I could only look forward to my present quiet peaceable village (where a man can scarcely take an extra glass of grog without my permission or knowledge)...[27]

As for the services which the station administrator was unable to provide, they were found in the town of Three Rivers. In the absence of their own missionary, people attended the church of Notre-Dame de l'Immaculée-Conception or Saint-James, as is evidenced by various documents dealing with pew rentals, baptisms, weddings or funerals. Visits to the doctor, the notary, the judicial or police authority as well as to taverns and inns, generally required a journey to the town. Post-mortem inventories of workers' property often record outstanding debts to Three Rivers shopkeepers.

Politically, administratively, religiously and even commercially speaking, Les Forges could hardly be said to be a true village. This was indeed the basis for the criticism voiced by the Executive Council of Lower Canada in a report dated September 15, 1843.

> One might have expected that the trade associated with the mines would, in forty-five years, have created at least a manufacturing village, if not a city: but the Council finds that this is not the case. It is said that the only residents of St. Maurice are the common workmen, who live in shanties, or small log houses, the construction of which is not intended for permanent residence.
> [Translation] [28]

The station was, in fact, what would be called, in modern times, a "company town." Such then was the setting in which masters, workers, and their families, lived their lives, and a very hive of activity it was, as will be seen from an examination of the everyday domestic existence of the inhabitants of Les Forges.

... 1729-1883 ...

The ironworks operated for over a century and a half, a period which for the purposes of this survey, has been divided into four parts: 1729-60, the French régime, 1760-93, the time of British Crown control, during which the works were leased to various businessmen or politicians, the 1793-1845 period, dominated by the strong personality of the lessee Mathew Bell who operated the industry first with various partners, then alone and, finally the 1845-83 period during which the business was disposed of in various stages, by way of purchase by a number of individuals (App. A). This study of the material and domestic life of the inhabitants will be mainly concerned with two periods: the French régime and the Mathew Bell administration.

The first part will provide a description of domestic life in the 1729-60 period, the second part the 1793-1845 period.

There is no lack of information on the first of these two; on the contrary, documents of all kinds abound: inventories of workers' property made after their death, accounts from the time of the Estèbe administration (1741-43), and correspondence exchanged between the company and government authorities, either locally or in France. We are less fortunate with the period 1760-93. Property inventories after death are rarely available. At that time a considerable turnover of the work force occurred, the original workers being succeeded both by their own sons and by new arrivals, English-speaking immigrants or people from the immediate area. In addition, for the entire period we possess few if any accounts, from the private companies operating the works as lessees and scarcely more in the way of official correspondence, save in the case of the granting of leases.

Information about the 1793-1845 period is more than adequate at least as far as the life of the workers is concerned. In this respect documents of all kinds are available and, in particular, inventories of property made after death. However, the domestic life of the lessees, in particular that of Mathew Bell himself, is scarcely known. For this period no account book, register, journal nor diary has come down to us. Any attempt at a description of the life of the masters in the days of Bell must then be based on very fragmentary information, as well as on earlier documents (mainly in the very complete inventory of the property of Conrad Gugy, in 1786) or alternatively on others from subsequent periods).

The closing stages of the life of Les Forges, 1845-83

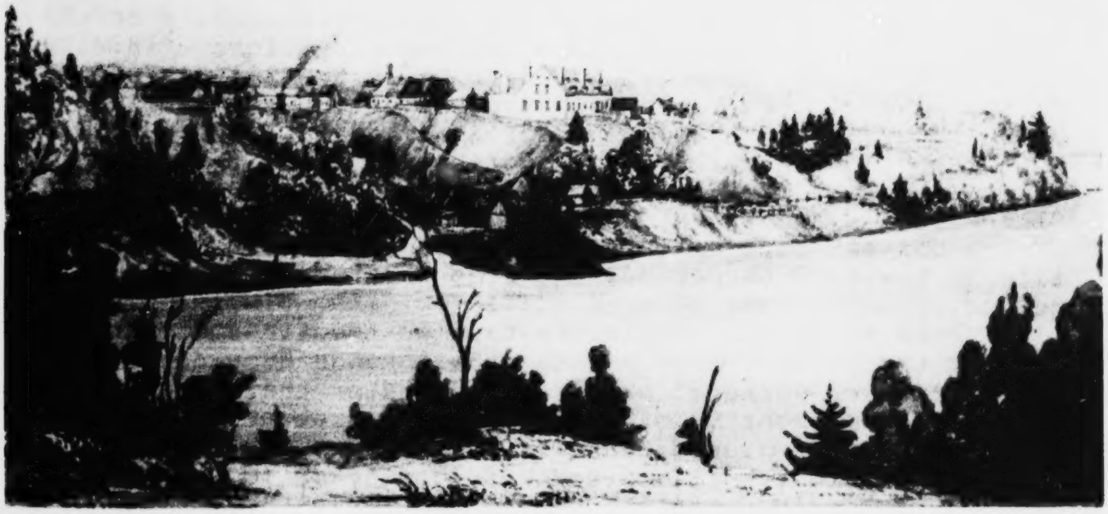


Figure 3. Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, as seen from the river, 1844.

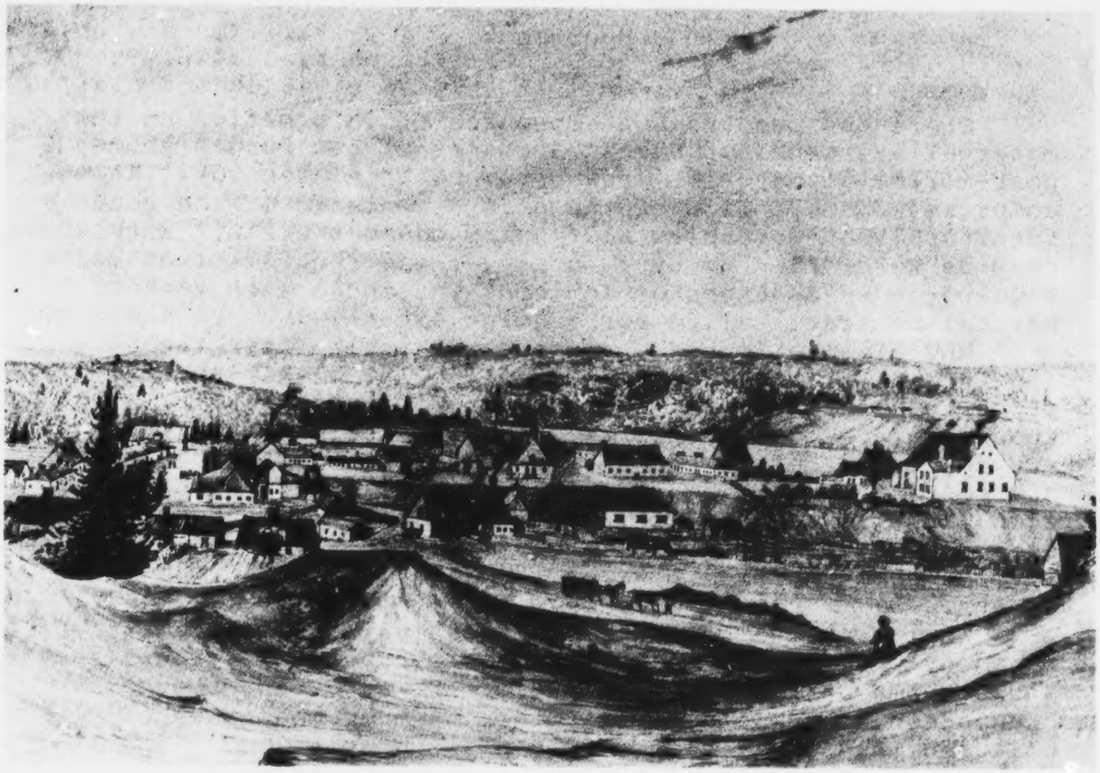


Figure 4. Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, as seen from the plateau, 1845.

yields little or no information on the domestic life of the workers or masters. This is characteristic of such general documentation as is available on the subject for the period. As time passes information becomes increasingly difficult to find. An explanation may be that the censuses taken at the time were inclined to lump together the people of Les Forges and those of the suburbs of Three Rivers generally. Besides the site was then no longer occupied by company employees to the exclusion of everyone else, but shared by them with farmers, millers or lumbermen, especially when industrial operations were closed down for a time. As a result, it becomes increasingly difficult to identify, to any satisfactory degree, the actual working population of Les Forges and thence to acquaint ourselves with their domestic life (it is difficult, in particular, to find post-mortem property inventories for the later days of operation).

Sources

There has been no better source of information on the material existence of the inhabitants of Les Forges than the post-mortem inventories drawn from notarial records. These comprise a description of the entire contents of the house - furniture, non-moveables and papers found therein. These records were drawn up by a notary at the request of an heir, a guardian or an executor in those instances when the marital contract called for a joint estate.

Any dissolution of a joint estate called for the appointment of a guardian for any minors, a sharing of property between heirs (one half going to the surviving spouse and the other apportioned among the children, once any special benefits under th marriage contract had been subtracted) or used for the settlement of outstanding liabilities. However, this operation was not mandatory; the estate could be settled amicably, by accommodation. It did involve some expense, however, and required a minimum of assets.

What were the contents of this legal document? It began by providing some information of social interest: name and surname of the deceased and of the surviving spouse, occupation of the one or the other, number and names of children, and indication of the place of residence. Having recorded these items of information the notary then proceeded to visit the house. Following a relatively uniform format he provided a description of all the furniture and furnishings found on the premises, including utensils used in the fireplace and kitchen for the preparation, consumption or preservation of food, light fixtures, tools and implements for housekeeping or craftwork, casts and barrels and the like, toilet articles, bed and table linen. Following that, as and if required by the provisions of the marriage contract, he proceeded to an appraisal of the silver, personal goods and clothing, foodstuffs and firewood, livestock and vehicles. Such property as was owned by the children was not however recorded in the inventory of those goods jointly held by the parents. Thence the paucity of information about children, their clothing and toys.

The information provided on each item of furniture or object readily yields a number of details on its nature, purpose, material used in its manufacture, decoration and design, colour, condition and appraisal value on the basis of the foregoing. A note of caution should be introduced at this point. These documents require careful analysis. Obviously, though the recording of any object is proof of its existence, the reverse is not necessarily the case. Provisions of the marriage contract might have called for certain reserves. Any object held to be of no appreciable value was not listed. Others were assumed to be personal property, not part of the estate. This may sometimes explain the notary's silence and the omission of a number of items.

As often as not the visit of a room proceeded along almost ritual lines. Items of furniture etc., inventoried in the order in which they were recorded by the notary, provide a fairly accurate idea of the actual organization of the house. This procedure was, in fact, an intrusion into the private life of the family, a kind of candid snapshot of its everyday doings.

Some idea of the financial status of the estate can also be gained from these inventories. Any cash was duly recorded. In addition, documents and papers recorded transfers of property or similar transactions carried out since the inception of the joint estate.

Among the documents consulted for the purposes of this survey are 39 post-mortem inventories involving, in a general way, the inhabitants of Les Forges and those employed there over a period of 150 years and more (App. C). It has as yet been impossible to correlate the deaths recorded at Les Forges and the subsequent inventories. Marie-France Fortier's *Rapport d'étude sommaire des chiffres concernant la population des Forges du Saint-Maurice* is based on the civil register of the parish of Immacculée-Conception of Three Rivers and its mission at Les Forges (1740-62) as well as on similar records for other adjoining parishes and those of the Anglican and Methodist churches. The number of deaths occurring among the workmen at the foundries is a matter of record as well, but no distinction is made between those residing onsite and those from outside. If such a study did exist, figures relating to the deaths of minors should be subtracted. Account should also be taken of the mobility of the work force. Comparative data are unavailable. As far as the writer has been able to ascertain there has been no attempt at an examination of the relationship between the number of deaths and that of inventories. However we do know that in France, where this was investigated, the ratio has been determined to be 10 percent or a little more.[29] Clearly, then, the reliability of these documents is much reduced as far as the value of the assets of the estate is concerned. On the other hand these inventories are a veritable treasure-trove of information on the material aspects of the culture of Les Forges. As a means of ascertaining how their inhabitants lived and interpreting this knowledge they are irreplaceable.

The 39 inventories surveyed relate to workers who had worked at the ironworks and resided there, some of whom subsequently acquired homes outside the station. These also have been analyzed. No account has been taken, however, of inventories of the property of deceased administrators such as Jacques Simonnet, François Cugnet, Alexandre Dumas or Conrad Gugy (with the exception of the goods held by the latter at *La Grande Maison*). These inventories deal with the contents of their houses in Three Rivers, Quebec and Yamachiche. There is no real connection between their life there and their life at *La Grande Maison* where they were housed, furnished, heated and fed during their extended residence or shorter stays there.

Along with these inventories, those made in 1741, 1746, 1748, 1760 and 1807 of the Les Forges company itself, have also provided much of considerable interest.[30] The most informative by far is that of 1741. It was during that year that the partners went into voluntary receivership. On that occasion Guillaume Estèbe, a member of the *Conseil supérieur* was appointed *sub-délégué* for Les Forges by the governor, Beauharnois and the intendant, Hocquart. His initial responsibility was to prepare an inventory of all the goods and chattels in the possession of Les Forges: buildings, tools, utensils, furniture, stock-in-trade, livestock, products and supplies (wood, ore, flax, etc.). The inventory provides information on the houses of masters and workers, the chapel, the service buildings - bakery, bread ovens, ice-house - and finally on the merchandise for sale to the workers in the company store (utensils, textiles, clothing, food, etc.). This latter list is of particular interest in that it yields information unavailable elsewhere. Other inventories list few if any items of that description and no book of accounts has come down to us.

The inventories of 1746, 1748 and 1760 are much

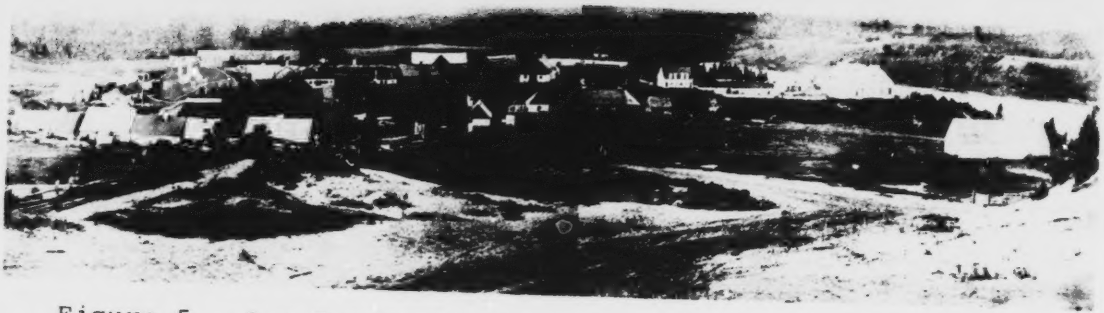


Figure 5. Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, as seen from the plateau ca. 1880.

briefer. An inventory was indeed drawn up in 1783 on the occasion of the granting of a lease to which all subsequent leases up to 1834 make reference. Unfortunately, it has proved impossible to trace. In 1807, on the other hand, David Munro and Mathew Bell, lessees, had an inventory drawn up of the various buildings, waterways, roads and outbuildings. In this document a distinction is made between such building and repair work as had been undertaken by the previous lessee and that performed by themselves.[31] It is of particular interest with regard to the houses of masters and workers.

Collections of papers, from various archives, have yielded valuable information on the subject of domestic life at Les Forges - particularly from the Archives des Colonies in Paris (APC, MG1, C^{11}A) or the Haldimand Papers in the British Museum (APC, MG21). There are in these records references to supplies of goods for the inhabitants of Les Forges as well as various observations - by the masters or the official authorities - on the workers themselves. This has been an invaluable source of information in the absence of account books.

Also available have been a number of notarial or judicial papers: marriage contracts, *donations* (Notarized contract *inter vivos* by which a man transfers all or a portion of his estate to another - often in return for guaranteed board and lodging in his old age), agreements, covenants, court proceedings, examinations, affidavits or statements of various kinds. Throughout may be found innumerable scraps of information on the life-style of the inhabitants with particular reference to the actual physical conditions of their existence. Population data have been derived from registers of marriages, births and burials.

In an attempt to fill certain gaps a number of travellers' reports have been consulted: 25 in all dealing with various periods in the life of Les Forges. They have proven to be of particular value with regard to matters such as living habits, dress and diet, scarcely if at all referred to in the extensive source material.

It was also necessary, in some instances to refer to secondhand sources in order to round out documentation on Les Forges. Thus Suzanne Tardieu's *La vie domestique dans le Maconnais pré-industriel* and Monique Lagrenade's *Le costume civil à Louisbourg* have made certain comparisons possible.

The examination of old records and printed sources must of necessity be supplemented by that of 18th and 19th century objects. Those which have thus enriched our visual reference material were drawn from private or public collections. Several artifacts recovered from the archaeological digs on the site or elsewhere have been used to round out the information provided by written material or objects belonging to various collections. Indeed this information was such as could not be derived from written evidence. It has been used to illustrate this survey.

It is on the basis, then, of this material that I have attempted to acquaint myself and to interpret the domestic life of the inhabitants of Les Forges. While I can scarcely claim to have dealt with every possible aspect of the matter I do hope that it has been possible for me to shed some light on various elements which provide a better understanding of domestic life at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice.

PART I DOMESTIC LIFE AT LES FORGES DU SAINT-MAURICE

1729-60

DOMESTIC LIFE AT *LA GRANDE MAISON*

The Dwelling

As the name implies *La Grande Maison* was the largest house in the village.[1] Compared to the others it was a prestigious building indeed, the residence of the directors and of the masters of works. While it was of very substantial size one must realize that it served at the same time as a residence, an office building, a commercial establishment and even a place of worship. It was the only residential dwelling built of stone, no doubt in an attempt to protect it against the greatest enemy of such fine structures - fire.

La Grande Maison was a L-shaped building. From the 1741 inventory we learn that it contained a dwelling house, a pavilion and an annex used as a kitchen. The initial plan had called for a U-shaped arrangement, but this was never carried out, for lack of funds.

> The original plans, which were never fully carried ut, thus called for *La Grande Maison* to be U-shaped, more in keeping with the spirit of the times, which valued symmetry above all in buildings. [Translation][2]

This should be noted. It makes the internal arrangement of the place easier to understand. Though the original plan was never carried out, *La Grande Maison*, as it stood nevertheless, had very substantial proportions indeed.

> The long side towards the river 80 feet long by 25½ feet high ... The other side 74 feet 6 inches long by the same height ... Two gables 46 feet across by the same ...
>
> Adjoining the said house a pavilion having two long sides, 24 feet across by 25½ high ... The face of the pavilion 20 feet across ... A kitchen adjoining the gable of the house on the northwest side, 16 feet across by 23½ feet deep, and 15 feet high. [Translation][3]

The material used in the construction was locally quarried sandstone[4] with a dressed stone trim on the front. The residence included a ground floor, two attics, one above the other, and a cellar divided into five sections by interior partitions. On the ground floor of the main part of the house there were at least seven rooms - a hall, two bedrooms, two closets, the chaplain's chamber and the chapel to which must be added the kitchen, as an annex to the house proper. There were at least two rooms in the pavilion. The first attic contained a wood-panelled bedroom.

Inside, *La Grande Maison* was divided into its various parts either by stone walls or by lath and mortar panels. The floors of the hall, the two bedrooms, the two closets, the chaplain's chamber and the chapel were laid in sandstone tiles while those of the other rooms were of tongue and groove planking.

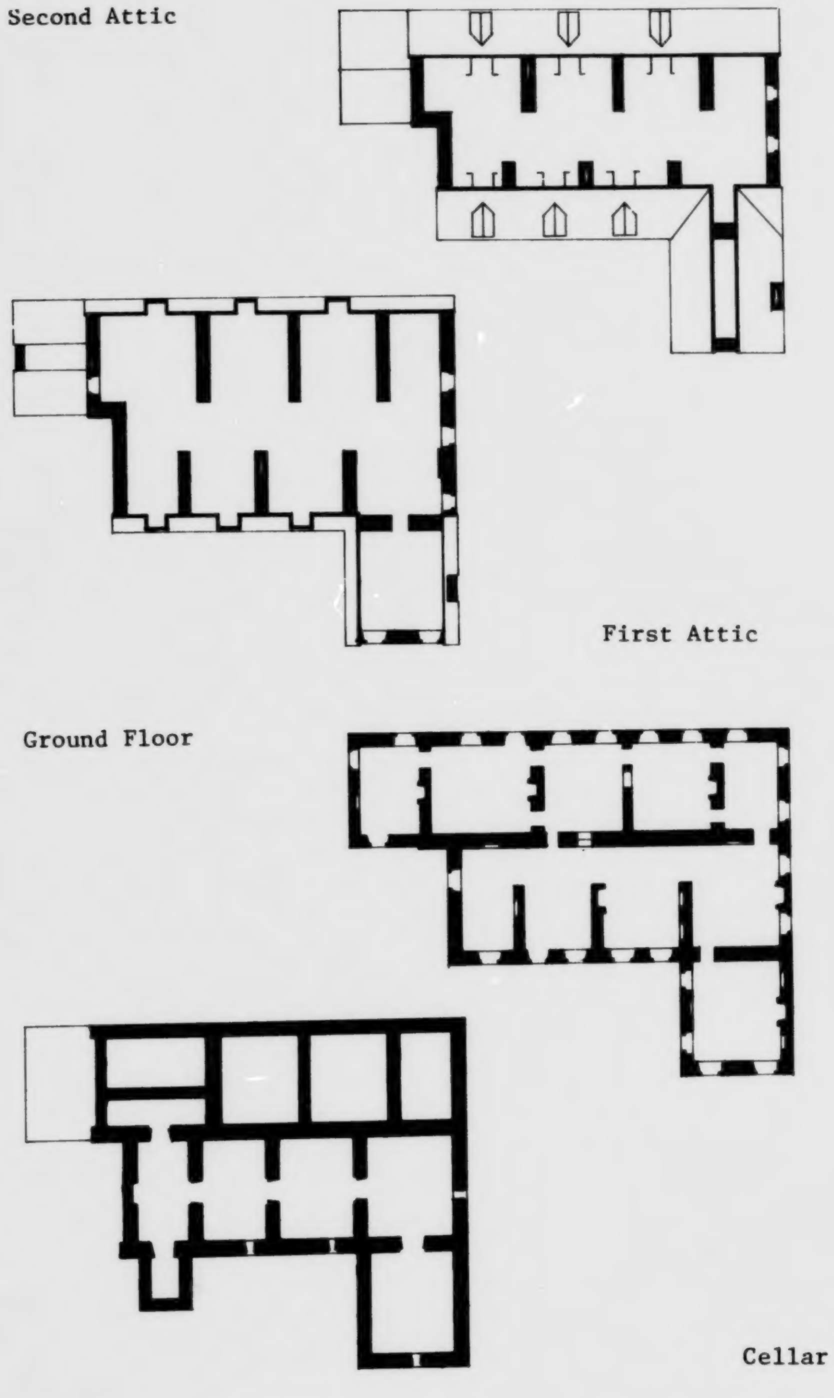
Functionally the spatial arrangement was both logical (a kitchen, a cellar, an attic all serve specific purposes) and in tune with the notions current at the time, still very much under the influence of the preceding century. Philippe Ariès, writing of the functions of various rooms in pre-revolutionary France, notes:

> Rooms, however, showed no specialization, either domestic or professional. They opened off one another ... None was designed for any specific purpose, with the exception of the kitchen; and indeed, in many cases the cooking was done in the fireplace of the largest room. [Translation][5]

So it was, to some extent, inside *La Grande Maison*. The kitchen excepted, the various rooms served no specific purpose, save that the east side served as a residential area, the west side being used for administrative or commercial activities. On either side, in any event, the rooms were laid out end to end with communicating doors (Figs. 6, 7).

> On the ground floor, the layout was as follows: along the façade (the east side), a series of doors in a row, practically up against the exterior wall; on the west side, the situation is identical, but the openings are all near the longitudinal cross wall. The arrangement of the rooms along the façade is reminiscent of that in the small châteaux of continental France. [Translation][6]

La Grande Maison was well provided with hearths. There were five dressed stone fireplaces in the main part, with backs fitted with three-foot-square plates cast at the ironworks. The pavilion also had a dressed stone fireplace. The kitchen, according to the 1741 inventory, had a two-*minots* brick oven designed for the baking of bread or pastry. But archaeological excavations appear to indicate that it was, in fact, a large dressed stone fireplace. There were in addition, to provide extra heating, three brick stoves. The wood required for the house was chopped by day labourers.[7] Two servants were further charged with the duty of hauling wood - "charrier le bois aux Forgerons et pour le service de la maison."[8]



Second Attic

First Attic

Ground Floor

Cellar

Figure 6. Ground plan of the various floors of *La Grande Maison*.

The supply of wood required for feeding the various fireplaces in *La Grande Maison* was invariably included with that used to meet the needs of those workers to whom lodging and heating were provided by the company.

> For firewood for *La Maison* and for all the workmen employed at the furnace and the forges, including carters, fifteen hundred cords of wood at twenty *sols* a cord. 1500 (L) [Translation]

There is little recorded evidence of any substantial number of accessories used about the fireplaces. The 1741 inventory lists only three pairs of fire-dogs, two iron shovels, one pair of fire tongs and two sheet-iron fire screens. From this latter detail one may assume that two fireplaces were closed and out of use in summer. Subsequent inventories, those of 1746 and 1748, mention five pairs of fire-dogs, two shovels and one pair of fire tongs.

La Grande Maison was well lighted. Its main wing had 21 dressed stone windows, glazed with panes of 8 by 9 *pouces* and provided with double swinging shutters. The lower attic had six windows, two glazed with 7 by 8 *pouces* panes. The four others were screened with canvas. The upper floors had 11 dormer windows which were also equipped with canvas screens. There were two windows in the kitchen, unglazed, but with double swinging shutters. Access to the house was through four doors, one of which led to the kitchen, no mention is made of any pavilion door in the 1741 inventory. A number of windows or doors had green serge hangings, mentioned in the 1746 and 1748 inventories.

After dusk, lighting was provided by candles as well as by the fires in the fireplaces. There were three brass chandeliers in 1741, 11 in 1746 and 1748. The supply of candles was charged against an allocation of 600 L used for sundry expenses such as the proper maintenance of house linen, candles and house or kitchen furnishings.[10]

Functions of *La Grande Maison*

Residence

It has already been pointed out that *La Grande Maison* served a variety of purposes of which one - its residential function - was of prime importance.

Who was entitled to live in *La Grande Maison* and who, in fact did? Generally speaking these were the director, the master of works, the clerk of accounts, the clerk of works, the merchant and the servants - the domestics employed therein (Table 1). At the time of Cugnet, Olivier de Vézin, Jacques Simonnet Sr., Jacques Simonnet Jr., Lisson, Perrault, the chaplain, two domestic servants and

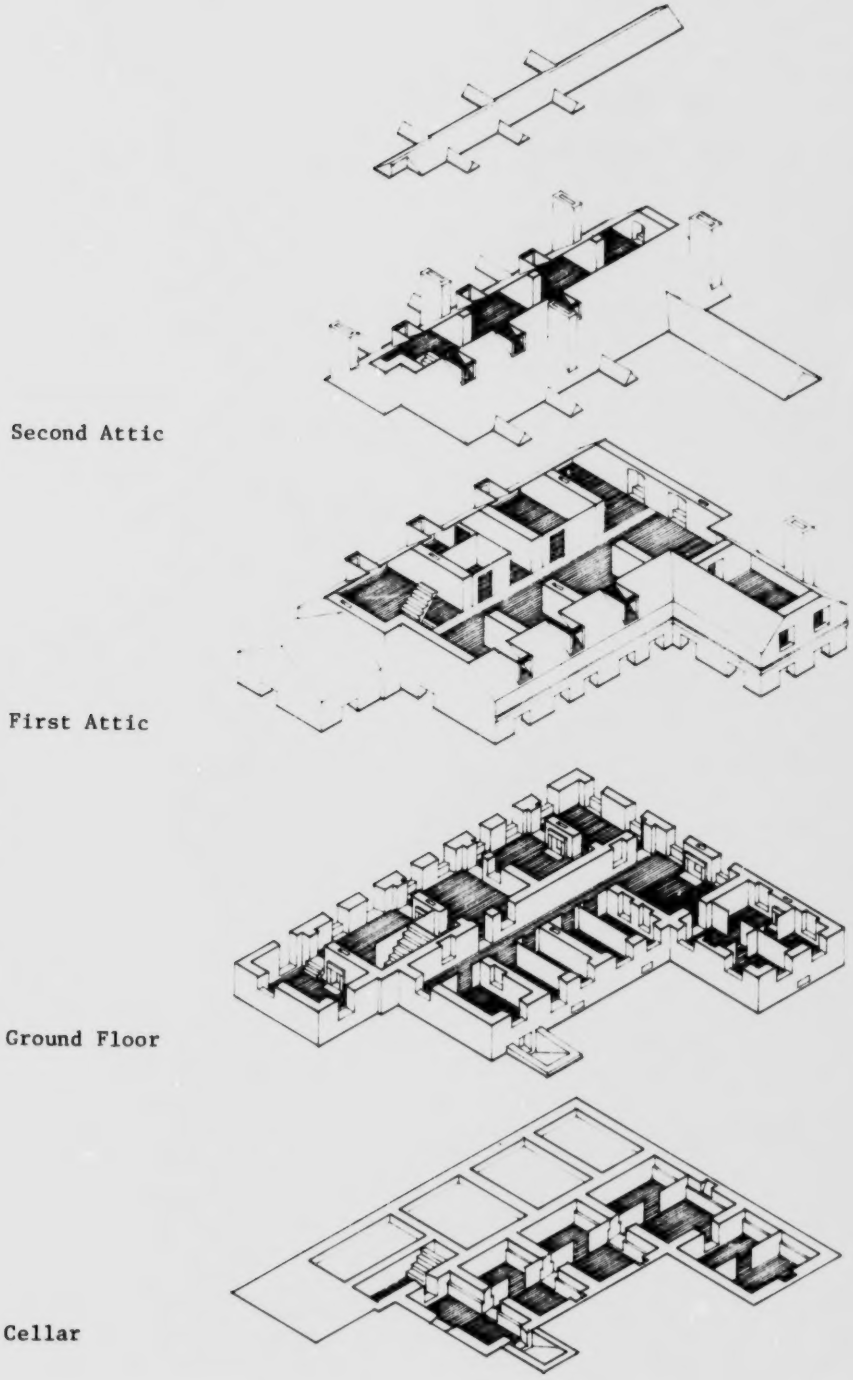
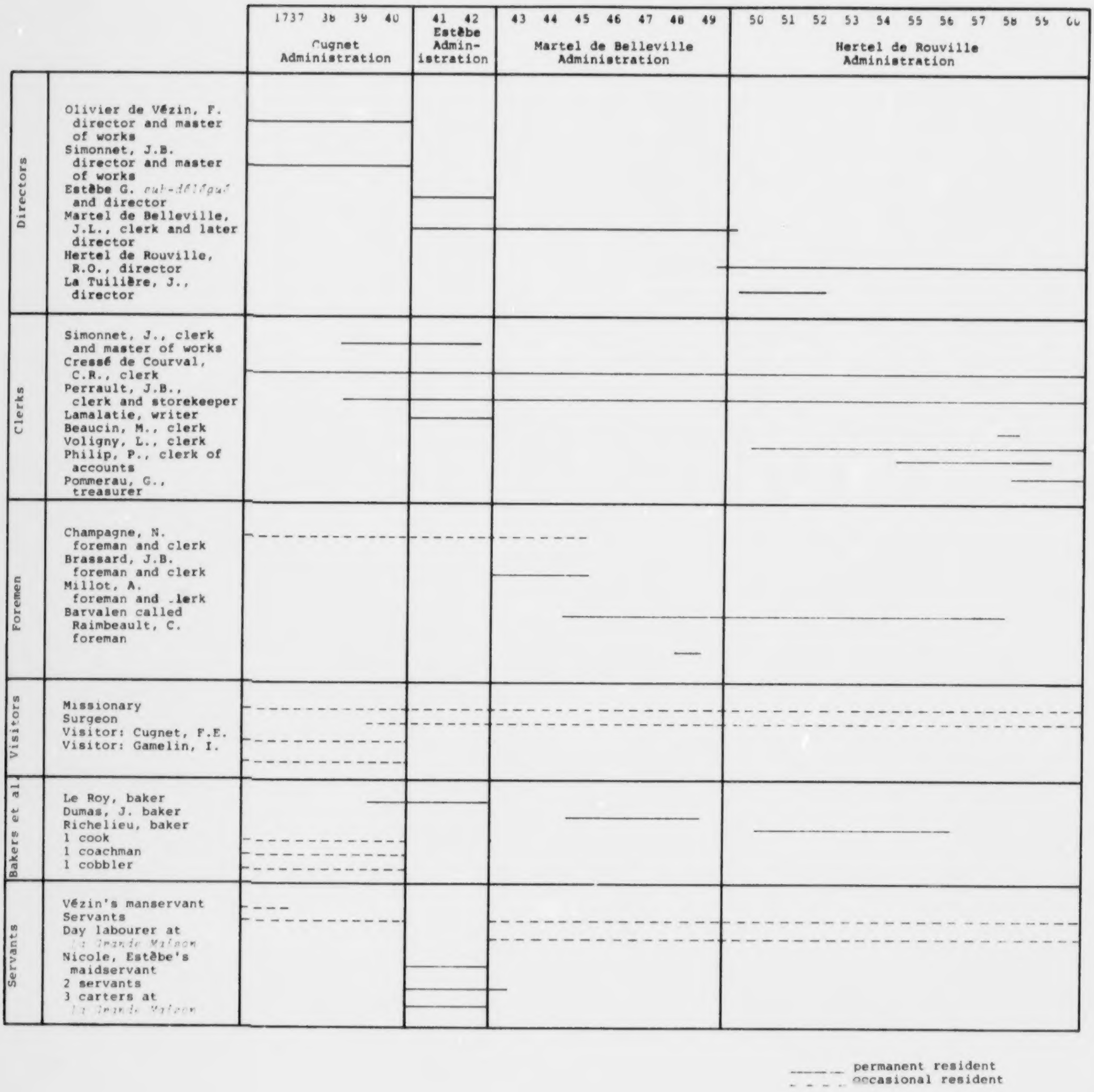

Second Attic
First Attic
Ground Floor
Cellar

Figure 7. The floors of *La Grande Maison* - elevation.

Table 1. Residents of *La Grande Maison*, 1737-60



three carters resided there.[11] They were joined on occasion by a baker and even by a cobbler.[12] Cugnet and Gamelin, whenever they visited Les Forges, were also guests at *La Grande Maison*. In the days of royal control Estèbe, Martel, Rouville and la Tuilière, the clerk Cressé, Simonnet Jr., other clerks and the missionary also boarded there.[13] *La Grande Maison* employed two domestics, three carters and a baker. These, along with Nicole, the sieur Estèbe's maidservant, were also entitled to live in the house.

Traditionally *une grande maison* was also used to accommodate journeymen. As far as Les Forges was concerned it would indeed appear that some journeymen were lodged at *La Grande Maison* though our references on this point are not specific.

> (Goods) were stored in the attic of the house, since there was no other safe place for them, where they shared space with all the workmen employed at the establishment. [Translation][14]

Further evidence on the matter is provided by Franquet in 1752.

> The principal building is the director's house. Although it is large, it is not large enough for all the employees who are entitled to lodgings there. [Translation][15]

Franquet was an official visitor, dispatched by the French government. He was in fact the very person to receive possible complaints about the inadequacy of the accommodation provided from those interested in obtaining royal grants for completing the building and particularly by the erection of the missing wing called for in the original U-shaped plan. In any event these workmen must have slept in the attic on the simplest of bedding, perhaps a palliasse laid on the floor, the various inventories making no mention of any bed being used by them. If such were the case they must have been accommodated there only temporarily.

Storehouse

Part of *La Grande Maison* was also used as a storehouse. The importance of this building in the storage of provisions and merchandise is frequently mentioned and sometimes used to justify the cost of the building, its size and the materials used in the construction.

> This house, Monseigneur, appeared essential, as much for th storage of grain, which it is wise to have set aside some years, as for the lodging of those required to operate the forges, and also in case of fire, which represents such a threat in this country. [Translation][16]

In 1739 Cugnet's company had entered into a partnership contract with the sieurs Perrault and Cressé.

> For all trade to be carried on at St. Maurice in dry goods and spirits, wheat, flour, peas, pork, beef, hay and generally all goods, liquors, provisions and foodstuffs which may be sold, distributed and consumed at St. Maurice. [Translation][17]

The agreement also required them to mill the wheat and make bread, to slaughter and dress beef cattle, to fell trees and transport ore for the smelter. They were entitled to a varied store of goods produced at the ironworks. They were also required to keep proper accounts of the purchase of foodstuffs, of sales and of any further convenants entered into relating to the cutting of wood and the hauling of ore.

> Sieurs Perrault and Cressé are to reside in the shop at St. Maurice; they are to be provided with such premises and apartments, attics and cellars as they may require for their own lodging and for the storage of their goods, spirits, provisions and foodstuffs. [Translation][18]

It was in the storehouse then on the west side of *La Grande Maison*, as well as in its attics and cellar, that the merchants - Perrault and Cressé - could be found going about their business, storing therein such goods and supplies as were required.

Office

La Grande Maison was also an office building from which the administration of Les Forges was directed. The clerk of works, the clerk of accounts, occasionally the merchant, the foreman and the directors kept their records there. Among their tasks were the keeping of accounts, the recording of stock movements (sales and purchases), of wages paid out to workers, of covenants or agreements, all of which indicates both the importance of that aspect of the function of the premises and the feverish activity going on within its walls.

The Chapel

La Grande Maison not only provided accommodation for masters and servants, for trades and administrative activities but was used in addition for religious purposes. One room was fitted out as a chapel until such time as a proper place of worship could be erected.

> Divine Service is now (1742) held in a room at the end of the corridor in the house, which holds barely a dozen people; the rest, frequently numbering over a hundred, are forced to remain in the corridor. [Translation][19]

The Equipment

The multifarious activities of *La Grande Maison*, the comings and goings about the premises can readily be imagined. It had its permanent occupants, its boarders, its visitors who had business with the masters or clerks. Still others came to visit the store or to use the chapel. This is why we will discuss the equipment and furnishings according to the area of activity involved: domestic life (sleeping and eating), administrative concerns (store and office), and religious pursuits (chapel).

Residence

The company had purchased furniture between 1736 and 1741. Money was set aside for this purpose but these appropriations also served for the acquisition of horses, harness, tools and utensils to be used both for *La Grande Maison* and the ironworks. On the other hand purchases of furniture were also accounted for under sundry expenses such as the maintenance of linen and the procuring of candles and utensils for the house and kitchen.

For the year 1736	
For furniture, horses, harness, tools and utensils ...	3491L 12s
For the year 1737	
i.e.	2262L 9s
For the year 1738	
i.e.	1620L 16s
For the year 1739	
i.e.	927L

We have one single record of a purchase made in France by Vēzin.

> For furniture purchased by him (Vēzin) in France for the service of Les Forges, in accordance with the account drawn up on the said 25th day of March 1741.
> 300L. [Translation][20]

We note in Table 2 that the largest portion of the value of furnishings is represented by bed and table linen. The furnishings generally were more remarkable for quantity than variety, as will be seen from the following observations.

Table 2. Appraised value of furnishings of *La Grande Maison*

Furnishings	1746	1748
Furniture	254L 10s	217L 10s
Linen (table, bed)	948L	1066L
Utensils	217L	235L
Lighting fixtures	33L	33L
Others	100L	100L
Total	1552L 10s	1651L 10s

A record of these furnishings appears in the inventories of Les Forges for 1741, 1746 and 1748. Variations from year to year were few. The furniture was of the simplest kind and included nothing but the most essential pieces: four beds, six tables, 27 chairs, a looking glass and a fire screen. There were no pieces intended for storage, the house having built-in armoires:

> In the house: 13 built-in armoires with double doors, set into the walls, with fittings and hooks, including twelve with locks and keys. In the pavilion: 3 built-in armoires with double doors, with fittings, including two with locks. [Translation][22]

It has been noted that the company owned very few beds in *La Grande Maison*: one bed complete with bedding and three folding beds, to which, in 1746, was added a bedstead. The bed complete with bedding, consisted of a bedstead of fruitwood, a canopy and hangings of green serge trimmed with a yellow silk stripe, a palliasse covered in ordinary cloth, a woollen mattress covered in Montbeliard linen (weighing 32 pounds), a feather mattress and a bolster covered in duck (the two weighing 82 pounds), the latter hidden under a green serge bedspread similar to that of the bed hangings and canopy. This luxurious arrangement, providing heat and comfort, was appraised in 1746 at 300L. The contrast is striking when compared with the three folding beds, with canvas backing, without bedding, and appraised altogether at 15L.

There were clearly not enough beds to sleep the master, two clerks, the chaplain, the domestics and the visitors. The contrast between the bed complete with bedding and the folding beds suggests that the latter were for the use of the servants and that others must have gone unrecorded in the inventory and deemed to be the personal property of the masters, along with their chests or boxes. This could explain the mention of a number of items of bedding, property of the company, and the absence of reference to the beds themselves. We do know for example, that the sieur Vēzin slept in a *lit en tombeau* (a bed in which the canopy is inclined instead of horizontal). The 1741 inventory lists various effects belonging to the company but removed by Vēzin on his departure. These were bed hangings in cotton damask "pour un tombeau," a palliasse, a mattress, a feather mattress, a bolster and four linen bedsheets and finally two white blankets. We also know, from the 1746 inventory, that the company provided the missionary with bedding and green serge hangings and canopy.

Listed under bedding for *La Grande Maison* we find ten pairs of grass-bleached sheets, each of five and a half ells, one white wool blanket, several green Toulouse

Table 3. Board privileges at *La Grande Maison*

Year	Privilege	Beneficiary
1740	"house table"	Perrault (merchant) Missionary Simmonnet Sr. (master of works) Simmonnet Jr. (master of works) Cugnet (when visiting) Gamelin (when visiting (partners)
	"kitchen"	Champagne (foreman) Cook
	"supplied"	Carters and servants in service of the house[23]
1741	"common table"	Master of works Clerk(s) Missionary[24]
1742	"house table"	Director Clerk of accounts Master of works Clerk of works Missionary
	"kitchen"	Two servants One baker Three carters[25]

blankets (wool), six "couvertures de ville" (Bordeaux, wool). In 1746 the number of sheets (eight) and blankets (six green, six of Bordeaux) was substantially unchanged. The latter were then appraised at 262L. But that was obviously not enough there for the number of beds. Changes of bed linen were not then very frequent, laundering being a rare occurrence.

As for the furniture used at mealtimes it was quite adequate: one folding table for ten people, another for 12 and yet another and immense trestle-table (for 24 place settings) and 27 chairs. Was there enough for everyone? Indeed the question arises as to who was allowed to eat in *La Grande Maison*? Accounts and statements of expenses provide detailed information on the matter of boarders. Among those entitled to have their meals there were the masters, the ironmaster, the clerk of works, the clerk of accounts, the foremen, the merchant, the chaplain, the servants and those carters in the service of *La Grande Maison*, with some variations. There were, however, a few distinctions between those who actually ate in *La Grande Maison* proper, those relegated to the kitchen table and finally others who were merely given supplies of food.

The difference between the masters' board and that of the workers or domestics is clear and made clearer still by the meal allowance provided for these people. We are enlightened on this point by records dating from the administration of Estèbe.

The above provides information on the masters' and servants' tables. No mention is made of any provision for board in regard to workmen. Yet there was no lack of space for them in *La Grande Maison*, the three dining tables being amply sufficient for at least some of them in addition to the masters and servants.

The 1741 inventory lists three other tables, each with two drawers. These could have served a variety of purposes, not only in the kitchen - for food preparation - but in the small room for the clerk of accounts, for instance.

Store

The 1741 inventory records a great quantity of wares stored in *La Grande Maison* and offered for sale to the workmen; one has only to see the length of the list. The stock-in-trade for 1746 and 1748 is recorded in far less detail (App. D). In fact it required considerable space, both in the recessed spaces enclosed for the purposes in the storeroom itself and in the cellars. Yet no mention is made of any form of counter or shelving for display. How were all these things arranged?

The store offered kitchen ware of various kinds for sale: frying pans, roasting pans, kettles, steel forks and

Table 4. Board allowance during the Estèbe administration

Year	Beneficiary	Allowance
1741	Estèbe	75L
	Simonnet	50L
	Cressé	50L
	La Malatie	50L
	Missionary	50L per month
	Servants	Living-in allowance (12L per month[26])
1 Oct. 1741 - 1 August 1742	Estèbe	90L per month
	Cressé	50L per month
	Simonnet Jr.	50L per month
	Martel	50L per month
	La Malatie	50L per month
	Champagne	Living-in allowance and two jugs of spirits (30L per month)
	Nicole, maidservant	12L per month
	LeRoy, baker	12L per month and 1 jug of tafia (rum)[27]

pocket knives. Similar objects were found in the workmen's houses. There is no evidence of any pewter or crockery, with the exception of 1746 or 1748 when three dozen china plates and 12 table knives were sold.

Textiles formed a large part of the stock-in-trade of the store at Les Forges. The storage space required must have been considerable. No less than 578 2/3 ells of material, 109 ells and 40 pieces of ribbons were listed, along with 45 pieces of trimming and grosses of buttons and other similar necessities (dozens of pins and thousands of needles). But clothing is little mentioned and mainly consists of gloves and clogs (144 pairs).

As for sundry other goods the inventories record a few toilet accessories (combs, razors, mirrors), some tools, awls and fishhooks, two iron lamps and as many lanterns. Even arms were on sale: five guns. Foodstuffs must have been stored in the cooler cellars: 6000 pounds of salt pork almost as many *minots* of flour, one and a half casks of molasses, some rice, some olive oil. Some of the perishables might also have been stored in a ice-house, one of which, recorded in the 1746 inventory, stood near *La*

Grande Maison.

In 1746 and 1748, when the inventories were drawn up, the store was all but empty; both inventories mentioned the same goods. Few of these appeared to be of practical domestic use, except perhaps the candles and lighting oil, lamps and lanterns (unsold since 1741?), some china dishes and a few table knives. As for food the records mention oats and hay for animal consumption. The rest consists of nails for carts, and tools such as could be found elsewhere in the rooms, the cellar, the stables or the barn of La *Grande Maison*. Incredibly, among the goods offered for sale in 1741 was a repeater clock priced at 300L. In short the stock-in-trade was more or less designed to meet the workmen's professional requirements rather than their domestic needs.

Office

The clerks must have been provided with a two-drawer table, a chair, a closet within the walls of the room for the storage of stationery. Purchases recorded between 1 October 1741 and 1 August 1742 and 18 September to 1 October 1743[28] give some idea of administrative requirements in this connection. The purchases include reams (20 *mains*) and *mains* (25 sheets) of paper in calf-bound registers, account paper, statement paper, letter paper, laces for bundling and cardboard dockets. Writing material consisted of pens, wooden pencils, gallstone (used to blacken water and make ink), sulphate, powder for drying ink and spanish sealing wax. Purchases during these two years further include two yellow brass candlesticks, one pair of snuffers and their holder, also of yellow brass, and candles - 200 pounds for the first year and 67 for the second.

It is difficult to speak with any certainty of the frequency of purchases on the basis of data for two years only, from October 1741 to October 1743. However, the average monthly expenditure was 40L. Reserves subsequent to 1741 may have had some influence, of course, on the frequency of purchases for the first year for which data are available. It should be noted that during this period attempts were being made to restrict operating expenses at Les Forges.

Chapel

The company had been most careful in providing the chapel with everything required for services and the missionary with vestments. All this was appraised in 1746 and 1748 at 1352L 15s, a substantial sum, scarcely less than the appraised value of the house furnishings (Table 2). The details provided are evidence of great luxury.

The altar was covered with striped camlet carpet and a white sheet (there were six of these) for the divine service. Front hangings varied according to the liturgical calendar, plain *calemande* for ordinary days, shot satin or painted linen in a flowered pattern for special feast days or black painted cloth for funerals. The tabernacle on the altar was white, with gilt trim and a white canopy. There were, in addition, two lathe-turned wooden candlesticks and two of gilded brass along with a gilded wooden crucifix and four bunches of artificial flowers. An ivory Christ on a wooden cross hung on the wall.

Nothing, necessary for the proper performance of the services, was missing: a silver chalice with its paten and case, a missal, 2 pewter burettes and an oval dish, a tin box for the hosts, a brass bell, a plain chart book, a brass conch for christenings with two pewter boxes for the holy oils. The chapel also contained two gilded wooden flower pots and two thers in silver-plated wood, not to mention the wax Child Jesus used for Christmas services.

Church linen and vestments were no less elaborate. On special occasions the missionary had a chasuble, a stole and a maniple of red shot satin, with a matching chalice veil and purse. For funeral services he had a black moiré camlet chasuble, stole and maniple, with a matching chalice veil and purse. As for the rest of the vestments there were: five albs, two surplices, a surplice for a choir boy in linen with Paris lace, 14 emices and five belts. The church linen was also complete in every detail: forty-five purificators and finger bowls, four corporals, four palls and finally two communion cloths. Above the chapel, on the roof of the house, a bell was fitted, as evidence of the presence of God therein and to summon the faithful to religious services.

Bakery

No mention of furnishings of *La Grande Maison* as were the property of Les Forges would be complete without a reference to the equipment of the bakery.

The bakery, as well as a shed and stable, formed part of *La Grande Maison* complex. Not only did it serve the needs of the house, but those of the workmen as well. It was a building 15 feet square, built of stakes, lathed and plastered, covered in clapboard, provided with a fireplace and a six-*minots* oven. The furnishings were simple: two hutches, one large, 7½ feet long by 2½ feet wide and a medium-sized one, 4½ feet long by 21 inches wide, a large table, nine feet in length and small scales with an iron beam and wooden tray. There is no mention of any fittings for the fireplace or oven. Supplementary heating was provided by a brick stove.

Activities

Food

Food Preparation. The servants and the cook at *La Grande Maison* worked with a limited range of implements compared to those actually owned by the company.

For the preparation of food there was nothing but a small tin cheese maker, a set of measuring containers - a pot, two quarts, two pints, a half-pint and a tin quartern. As for cooking it would appear from a consideration of the utensils used, that three methods were employed. For cooking over an open flame there were two spits and a large roasting pan; for indirect cooking, two frying pans and a skillet; for boiling, two copper saucepans, three cast-iron pots, one large, one medium size, one small with a ladle and a strainer and finally a little yellow brass kettle and two tin kettles used to keep water.

While the 1741 inventory does mention a two-*minots* bread oven, on the other hand archaeological surveys have provided evidence rather of the existence of an ordinary fireplace. It should be noted however that close by the kitchen, outside, was the bakery with its six-*minots* bread oven. Food could be cooked either in the kitchen or in the room where the masters' table was set up.

Food consumption. The table had a plain or decorated linen tablecloth. Inventories list nine plain linen tablecloths and three half-worn decorated ones (in 1748, 11 of plain linen). Each person had a napkin, also of plain or decorated linen. Indeed there was a considerable number of napkins. In 1741, 66 decorated linen ones were listed along with six others totally worn out. Five years later there were 193 of plain linen, with an appraised value of 386L. As for crockery it consisted merely of 24 dishes, three plates and a pewter basin. No forks or spoons were listed, these being provided, of course, by the masters, each providing his own and even his own crockery.

What did one eat at *La Grande Maison*? The menu varied according to the person involved. From 1 October 1741 to 1 August 1742, (Cressé, Simonnet Jr., Martel, La Malatie and the missionary were in receipt of 50L per month for board, the sieur Estèbe being allowed 90L (though the authorities had decided to allow him no more than 75L for this purpose).[29] Champagne, the foreman, was in receipt of a living-in allowance of two pounds of bread and one of beef per month as well as two jugs of spirits per month. This allowance including the drink, calculated on the basis of 30 days, came to 16L. Nicole, Estèbe's maidservant, was provided a similar living-in daily allowance of two pounds of bread and one pound of beef which came to 12L monthly. LeRoy, the baker, was entitled to a living-in allowance and to one pay of 13L 10s per month. As for the servants or carters in the service of the house they were in receipt of a living-in allowance.[30]

These figures also point up the distinction between the masters' board and that of the workmen. The former received 33s per diem, the latter 8s (bread and beef). The sieur Estébe's larger allowance made it possible for him to stock a greater quantity of drink, for visitors among others. The masters' table was better provided as well, with more or better food. While there is no mention of the fact in any source material, we may refer in this connection to the writings of Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveller. He has described the diet of the more affluent Montrealers or Quebeckers of the period, 1748, which does give an indication of how the masters in *La Grande Maison* might have fared.

> Breakfast is generally taken between seven and eight o'clock ... some make do with bread dipped in brandy, while others begin with a small glass, followed by a piece of bread, or have a cup of chocolate; ...
>
> ... Noon is the dinner hour ...
>
> ... The meal begins with soup, which is eaten with great quantities of bread, followed by fresh meat of all kinds, boiled and roasted, game, poultry, fricasseed or stewed, and various kinds of salads. Bordeaux mixed with water is generally served at dinner ... After dinner comes dessert, which includes a wide variety of fruits ... Cheese is also served with dessert, as is milk, which is taken at the end, with sugar ...
>
> ... (on Fridays and Saturdays, which are days of abstinence), the meal consists of all kinds of cooked vegetables and fruits, with milk, fish, or eggs prepared in various ways ... Immediately after dinner, they have a cup of coffee without cream.
>
> Supper is usually at seven or between seven and eight o'clock, and is composed of the same dishes as dinner. [Translation][31]

Quite obviously all meals would scarcely have been as large. Kalm's description does however suggest a rather wide variety of items.

Foremen, servants and day labourers in the service of

La Grande Maison also had bread and beef and most certainly soups of various kinds, vegetables from the garden as well as fruit, wild or in season, milk for desserts or drinking, wine and spirits, according to their means or taste.

Daily Chores

Daily chores in *La Grande Maison* were the responsibility of the servants. Under Cugnet three servants and three carters were thus employed.[32] At the time of state administration these tasks fell to two servants including Nicole, sieur Estèbe's maidservant, to LeRoy, the baker, and the three carters.[33]

The carters' main responsibility was the transportation of the members of the household. In addition they hauled the firewood and water required for *La Grande Maison*. As for the servants they were principally responsible for the preparation of food and meals, making and tending fires, caring for the livestock (two cows and three pigs in 1741; one cow, three pigs in 1746; one cow, three pigs and four oxen in 1748) and for housekeeping chores in general.

Various accounts indicate that laundry was not the responsibility of the servants. In the forecast of expenditues for the operation of Les Forges drawn up 24 October 1740 an allowance of 1500L was made for the maintenance and washing of linen, the purchase of candles, house utensils and sundry other contingencies.[34] Hocquart, in his statement of 19 October 1741, provides for only 600L in the operating budget of Les Forges to cover maintenance of linen and table or kitchen utensils.[35] The situation remained unchanged in 1742.[36]

Laundry was the responsibility of the wife of a workman according to a detailed account for the period 1 October 1741 to 1 August 1742.

> To Madame Chapu for laundry done for *La Maison* from November (1741) to September 1 (1742) at 6L a month 60L. [Translation][37]

House linen included tablecloths and napkins, bedsheets and on occasion, blankets and curtains. As for the church linen it was sent out to be washed by nuns.

> To the Ursulines of Three Rivers for laundry done for the chapel from November 1 (1741) to August 31 (1742) at 30s a month 15L. [Translation][38]

These entries would appear to indicate that washday was a monthly affair; this was possible given the large quantity of bed and table linen.

THE DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE WORKMEN

Housing

No examination of the domestic life of the inhabitants of Les Forges should be attempted without first referring to the houses, the setting within which their lives evolved. On the one hand, the house, as it stood, by its actual structure, shaped the daily round of activities: meals, work, recreation or rest. On the other hand, domestic life had perforce to adjust to this setting and avail itself of such opportunities as it could offer. Thus the "container" affected the "contained." In addition the dwelling reflected the character as well as the socio-economic status of its occupants, as its interior furnishings reflected in turn their way of life, their mentality and the traditions of the age.

This study of housing at Les Forges will be carried out from an ethnographic point of view, involving a "man-house" relationship. No attempt will be made here to answer each and every possible question relating to the domestic architecture of the place. The matter will be dealt with by a historian more specifically concerned by this aspect of housing in this industrial community. What will be attempted here is a search for the connection between a particular type of dwelling and a given social group, with a description of the setting and spatial arrangement of the house, noting how comfortable or uncomfortable it might have been.

This whole matter of housing at Les Forges during the French régime is as broad as it is complex. It is however impossible to state with absolute certainty exactly how the village may have appeared at the time. It included, along with houses built by the company, others built by private individuals. We know about the former through the 1741, 1746 and 1748 inventories and about the latter through scraps of information gathered from the material generally available on Les Forges.

From these sources it is fair to assume that the dwellings at Les Forges were of various types: houses, multiple dwelling-houses, cabins and what may be called mere huts. The housing reflected a highly organized social structure and was indicative of the social and economic status of the occupants, be they skilled workers or day labourers. The analysis here will be based on the various types of housing, which will allow for an examination of the place of individuals within the social structure. Throughout this discussion an attempt will be made to visualize the actual physical appearance of the dwelling and the life-style of the inhabitants of Les Forges.

From the earliest days of the operations of the ironworks, efforts had been made to house the workmen. Hard by his forge Francheville had a house of *pièces sur pièces* (a type of log construction) erected for the workmen.[1] Under Olivier de Vézin the process was continued in 1737:

> Sieur Olivier has arranged for the construction of other buildings, consisting of one house ... for the farrier and the smiths ... a number of other small buildings for the accommodation of the workmen and others employed in the service of the said forges; one house ... for the accommodation of the masters and for the storage of goods and provisions ... [Translation][2]

In 1741 there were 14 dwellings. In 1760 this number had grown to 24.[3] Near the blast-furnace stood the founder's house and that of the moulder. Near the upper forge, a house was set aside for the forgemen and hodmen. Lower down, at the foot of the hill, there were others for the forgemen working in the lower forge. There were, as well, other houses or shacks, erected near the industrial installations, in no particular order: these were for skilled tradesmen as well as for day labourers.

Not only had the company been concerned with providing housing for its employees but it had also intended to make land grants to day labourers for the purpose of erecting houses.

> To provide for the transportation of coal and other materials of all kinds as required through the course of the year for the service of the forges, it has been agreed by us, upon deliberation, on this 27th day of February 1738, that, a number of carters having requested permission to establish themselves at St. Maurice, where they are assured of continual employment, M. Olivier, on behalf of the Company, may grant one square *arpent* of land on the Seigneury of St. Maurice to each of the carters wishing to establish themselves at St. Maurice, such carters being required to build thereon within one year of the grant. [Translation][4]

This purpose, formally recorded on 27 February 1739, was not to be achieved immediately. On 18 March 1740 Cugnet and Simonnet were complaining about the fact that the four or five carters settled in the place had not yet been provided with their land, house or stable and that, as a consequence, their horses had to be accommodated in the company stables with consequent overcrowding. Thence their repeated request that grants be made to these carters, more particularly to Labonne, Grenier and Portugais.[5] But was this request met? The 1741 inventory records the fact that one Grenier was housed in a shack. Those of 1746 and 1748 record similar information regarding Portugais. As for the granting of land it is quite possible that the company did achieve its purpose. Evidence concerning Pierre Bouvet would suggest as much. Cugnet had requested Simonnet to provide Bouvet - blacksmith and farrier, with "une concession d'un arpent en quarré au dessus de celle de Marinau marêchal."[6] Indeed company records do provide evidence that one Bouvet was in fact employed at the forges. Notarized documents also indicate that he resided there. But there is nothing to show the exact location of his dwelling. His name appears in none of Les Forges inventories. But everything does seem to indicate that he had been in fact provided with land. Other documents make reference to the fact that in 1745, Jean Aubry, collier, lived "au pied du coteau"[7] and that in 1740 Mathenay dwelt in a hut near the lower works.[8] These dwellings were not the property of the company; there is no record of them in the inventories previously referred to, which suggests that they stood on land granted by the firm to its day labourers. Other cases might have escaped notice through inadequate information. This makes it quite impossible to know exactly how matters stood as far as housing was concerned. And what of the temporary structures found scattered around the charcoal stacks? We know at least of the existence of one collier's hut; in 1742 a collier was killed by a tree falling on his "cabane de charbonnier."[9] But nothing is known of the number of these huts, nor of how long they continued to be erected while the ironworks were in operation.

In brief what is known of housing for the workmen has been abstracted from the various inventories of the company's property: those of 1741, 1746, 1748 and 1760. The 1741 inventory is the most complete, providing a description of the buildings, as against mere communication and value quotations, as is the case in the others. Post-mortem inventories have been of no use whatsoever, referring neither to the lodgings nor the the number of rooms, whether the house belonged to the company or to an individual.

The four inventories refer to three types of houses: single family units, multiple dwelling units and what are called "baraques" or cabins. There was considerable variation between these, both with respect to the structure itself and to their occupants.

The House

A house as defined by the inventory, is occupied by one or more families and may contain both living quarters and a place of work.

Good examples of the single family unit are the houses occupied by one Nicolas Champagne, a foreman, and by Portugais, a carter. These are mentioned only twice in 1746 and 1748. Doubtless they were erected in 1742 and 1744 respectively. Yet there are strong indications that these were originally mere cabins to which were added, in 1745, stone chimneys, thereby elevating them to the dignity of houses. This view is strengthened by information recorded in the 1746 inventory which, in its description, records the appearance of newly built stone chimneys. Their appraised value was, in fact, quite low: 500L each. It will be seen later that this figure was set in relation to the valuation of the other houses.

In the multi-family unit category one included both a large house divided into several distinct units (sometimes called a *corps de logis*) as well as a detached house shared by more than one individual or family. An example of this type is the house occupied by the forgemen of the upper forge, i.e., the families of the forgeman Marchand, the moulder Cantenet and the stoker Michelin or again by the house occupied by the stoker Godard and the carpenter Bériau. These contained three and two distinct dwellings, respectively. As for the second type of multi-family dwelling it is typified by the house occupied by the forgemen of the lower forge and that of the families of the blacksmith Marinau, the carter of the same name and the stoker Robichon. There is no mention in the 1741 inventory of the occupants of the lower forge, but we do know that, at that particular time, among the workmen employed there, were the forgeman Chaillé and the stokers Dautel and Mergé.[10] These houses were variously estimated at between 795L and 5096L (in the order indicated above: 5096L 18s 10d; 1958L 13s 2d; 2918L 7s; 795L 18s 5d.)

There were two houses containing both living quarters and a place of work. The first was the dwelling and shop of the carpenter Louis Chèvrefils dit Bélisle and his family. The other was the house of the founder Jean-Baptiste Delorme and his family, joined on one side to the room in which the blast furnace had been installed and on the other to the bellows room. No mention is made of these houses in the 1746 and 1748 inventories; no doubt they were considered part of the actual works (App. E).

It will be noted that the occupants of houses were skilled workers. Founders, forgemen, moulders, carpenters, blacksmiths and foremen. The sole exceptions were the two carters (in 1746 and 1748). Skilled workers were permanent employees whose remuneration, on an annual basis, varied between 600L for a moulder, 700L for a stoker, a founder or a forgeman, 900L for a forgeman and 1000L for a carpenter or blacksmith. These were considered members of the permanent staff, whose skills were required to maintain the regular functioning of the ironworks' operation. As such, they enjoyed housing of a more permanent nature. Their dwellings were more solidly built and more comfortable than those of labourers or seasonal workers.

What did distinguish the house was a number of features lacking in the cabin. Some dwellings did, for example, have basements (Delorme, Godard and Beriau) or a masonry base (the forgemen of the lower forge), providing better insulation than the flooring of some cabins - planks laid side by side. Others had sheeted-in attics, in particular, that of Godard and Bériau, half of whose attic was a room sheeted in with tongue and groove planks and that of the forgemen of the lower forge where the whole attic was sheeted in tongue and groove planks. In addition houses were usually fitted with glazed windows, though some indeed also had these covered with oilcloth (house of the forgemen of the lower forge and that of Marinau and Robichon). Some windows even had shutters (houses of Bélisle, Delorme, Godard and Bériau). All had an additional feature in common: a single, double or triple stone chimney. The house of Delorme and that of Marinau and Robichon each had a single one; the house of Bélisle as well as that of Bériau and Godard a double one, with adjoining fireplaces. As for the home provided for the forgemen of the upper forge, it had two chimneys with back-to-back fireplaces as well as a single one. The house of the lower-forge forgemen, on the other hand, had four hearths, i.e. a single chimney and a triple one with fireplaces set side by side. The latter fact is puzzling. It is difficult to understand the usefulness of the arrangement or to visualize the interior divisions of the house.

Mention of the chimneys leads to a discussion of the rooms. A last feature of the house is recorded in the inventories which occasionally refers to the number of rooms or, more frequently, to the number of feet of partition. There were as a rule, two or three apartments, i.e., a room and one or two small rooms or closets. The number of feet of partitions varied between 14 and 170. This kind of detail, to be sure, is of more interest to the appraiser than to the historian, in that it indicates the value of the material and indirectly that of the house itself. But it tells us very little about the actual number of partitions or of the rooms they enclose, such partitions doing double duty as a separation between the family dwellings themselves and as enclosures for bedrooms and closets.

The lodgings of Marchand, Cantenet, Michelin, Bélisle, Godard and Bériau each included a room (i.e. a kitchen *cum*

Table 5. Average interior space, in descending order

House	Overall Dimensions (feet)	Average Space per Family (feet)
Delorme	30 x 30	30 x 30
Smith (upper forge)	23 x 68	23 x 22 2/3
Bélisle and shop	39½ x 25	20 x 25
Smiths (lower forge)	41½ x 36	14 x 30
Godard and Bélisle	38½ x 24	17¼ x 24
Marinau, Marinau, Robichon	15 x 60	15 x 20

living room) and a small room or closet (for storage). Delorme's on the other hand had one room and two closets. Godard's had, in addition, a room in the attic for the hodmen." Inventories make no mention of rooms in the case of the Marinaus' house nor of that of Robichon. The fact that they were provided with a single fireplace and a limited number of partitions (15 feet for a building 15 x 60 feet) suggests that all members of the household used one common room, particularly at mealtimes, as well, no doubt, as one or two other rooms. It is even more difficult to imagine the interior arrangement of the house occupied by the forgemen of the lower forge. The ground floor and the sheeted-in attic were partitioned. Finally the four fireplaces of which three stood side by side, defies all attempts at interpretation.

To have an idea as to whether these houses were large or small or whether the space provided for each family was adequate or not, we have calculated (Table 5), on a hypothetical basis, the average space occupied by a single family.

The average family space per house was larger than the corresponding space per cabin, on the basis of the only figures available on the latter: 29½ feet by 10 feet.

The Cabin

The *baraque* or cabin was a very practical form of housing. Their numbers continued to grow as the population increased - six in 1741 (excluding a windowless and doorless one), the same number in 1746 and 1748 and 17 in 1760.

The occupants were journeymen - quarrymen, dressers, *feuilleurs*, colliers, hodmen, road-builders, etc. These stood lowest on the pay scale, their wages being generally

30L a month. Because of the nature of their employment or on occasion because of its seasonal character they constituted a highly mobile work force. Of those recorded as living in cabins in 1741 only two reappear in 1746 and 1748, the two Chapus (App. F).

These workmen, lowest in social status, lived in lodgings befitting their humble station - cabins. The 1741 inventory describes them as made of logs, with no foundations, resting directly on the ground, with floors, generally made of planks laid side by side (a simple form of construction with allowed air to circulate between the cracks). There were no glazed windows, no partitions, no ironwork, no locks. The chimney was made of earth, with one exception, that of Dufresne's cabin being half stone, half earth.

> Chimney, stone, five feet high by five feet wide and three feet four inches deep, the rest earth. [Translation][12]

This rudimentary type of housing had no great life expectancy, and was never occupied for very long. The single reference we have as to dimensions - 29½ feet by 10 indicates that space was very restricted, the entire life of the family being concentrated within the walls of its single room. Its value, according to the 1746 and 1748 inventories was minimal, between 50L and 250L, a fact due to the inexpensive nature of the materials employed: rough hewn logs, earth chimney, no footings, no base slab, no glazed windows, no locks or iron hardware of any description.

The Hut

Another type of accommodation found at Les Forges was the collier's or woodcutter's hut. An unfortunate incident provides the sole clue to its existence. A report dated 3 July 1742 records the death of one Pierre Chaillot, collier, killed when a tree fell on his hut.[13]

The hut provided temporary accommodation to the collier or the woodcutter whose trade required him to live temporarily at least, at some distance from Les Forges or his usual place of residence. In the case of the collier, the very nature of his work - constant attention to the process of carbonisation of stacks of wood - required him to be on the spot at all times.

The hut was the simplest and most modest type of accommodation imaginable. Frêderic LePlay describes a collier's hut in his study of European workers in the 19th century.

> The hut of the Carinthian collier is the simplest structure imaginable. It is composed of branches resting on the ground at one end and joined at the other by a few pieces

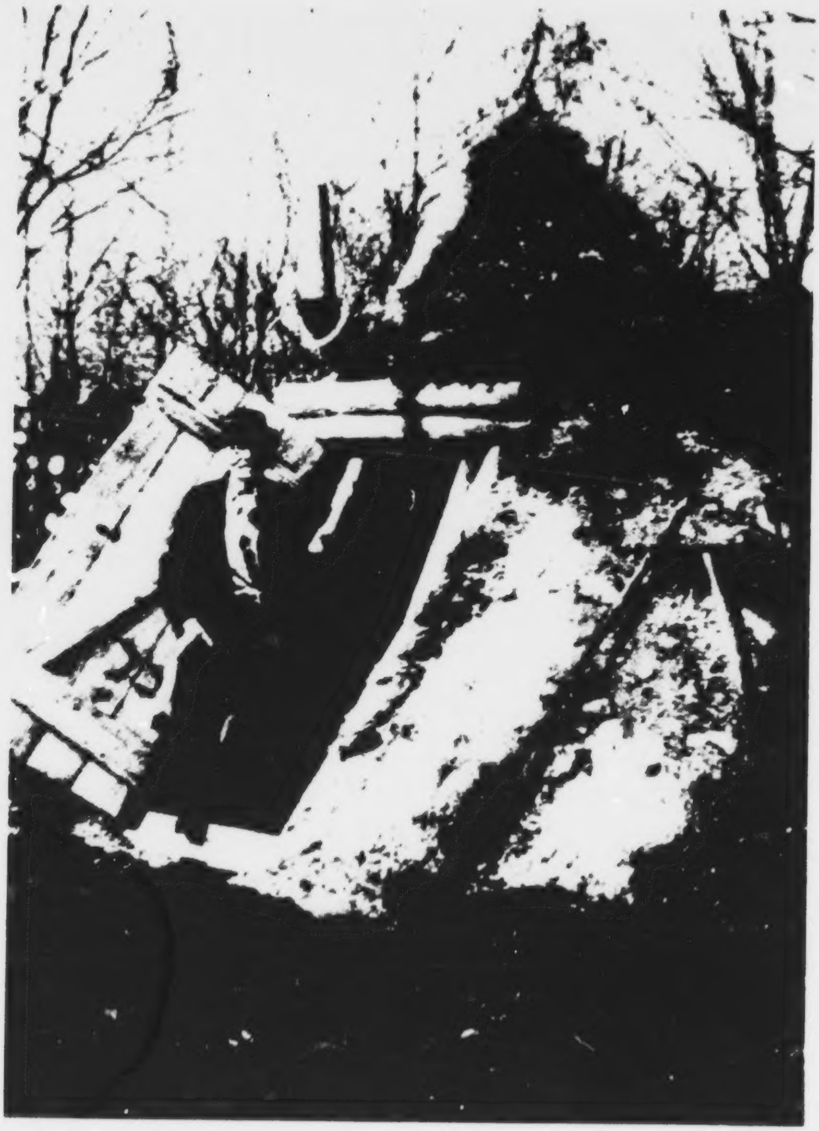


Figure 8. Hut used by the last of the master colliers. Lafayette Houck, at the Hopewell works in Pennsylvania around the end of the last century.

of wood to form a roof. It is then completely covered with a layer of sod. The area thus covered totals 5 m^2; the door, 1 m by 0.5 m, is composed of a panel of planks, and swings from two hinges attached to an upright. The bed is composed of four rough planks covered with moss; a fifth plank forms the seat; finally, in a corner of the hut, near the bench, is a clay

> fireplace, topped by a clay and wattle chimney. The furnishings of this modest establishment amount to 1 door and 5 planks.
> [Translation][14]

This description closely matches that of the type of hut built, at the end of the last century, by a collier employed at the Hopewell ironworks, in the United States.

> The hut was always conical in form, having a base about 8 feet in diameter and a height of about 10 feet. Three-inch poles were used for the uprights, and more slender poles filled the interstices between them. Leaves were used to cover the structure and to form a mat so that the final dressing of topsoil would not sift through the few remaining crevices. A door just large enough for one man to get through was placed on the "pit side" of the hut. A wood stove and rough log bunks were the furnishings of this temporary abode.[15]

Equipment

The inventories of Les Forges make little or no mention of the interior of the workmen's dwellings, save a few references to the type of construction used for floors, ceilings or, on occasion, walls. Post-mortem inventories provide no information whatsoever on these points. They do not even indicate the number of rooms. They do however speak of their contents and to this extent are indeed invaluable.

In this respect we must rely on a mere ten post-mortem inventories and a single sales inventory. To these we owe the sum total of our knowledge of the house furnishings of workmen during the French régime. At the time they were drafted seven workmen lived at Les Forges; Jean Delorme, Pierre Marchand, Nicolas Champagne, François de Nevers dit Boisvert, François Godard, Jean Perrin and Jean Aubry. Four of them, former inhabitants of Les Forges, then lived either in Three Rivers, Pointe-du-Lac or Baie Saint Antoine - Joseph Aubry, Julien Duval, Pierre Bouvet and Louis Chèvrefils dit Bélisle. I have made use of the inventory of their goods and chattels, as excellent evidence of what might have been owned by workmen at Les Forges. The fact that they had settled on land holdings brought no increase in property, save a larger quantity of foodstuffs or a greater number of heads of cattle. These particular inventories were drawn up between 1745 and 1756, with the exception of that of Louis Chèvrefils (Bélisle), drawn up in 1765. This was a man who had long resided at Les Forges, having been hired by Francheville in 1732. Upon retirement he had settled at Baie Saint-Antoine. There was little or no alteration in his furnishings between the death of his wife in 1765 and his own in 1773.

Inventories of this type usually list everything found on the premises. As was explained in the introduction, there are however occasional exceptions to this rule, i.e., the bed, clothing, foodstuffs, and personal effects of both the surviving spouse and children. A list has been drawn up of all the varied objects in daily use, under ten categories (Table 6).

As a first step an attempt has been made to calculate the value of the articles belonging to each category. This makes it possible to appreciate the importance attached to objects of various kinds. The next step was to add to the figures so obtained by category, to get some idea of the degree of material comfort enjoyed by each workman in relation to his position on the social scale. The table compiled provides an accurate indication of the actual wealth of the various households (Table 7).

Table 6. Categories of domestic goods and chattels

1	Furniture	Clothes closets, cupboards and similar pieces; chairs anbd benches, tables, chests, stoves, mirrors
2	Bed	Bed and bedding
3	Utensils	Utensils used in the preparation, consumption or conservaiton of food; fireplace utensils
4	Linen	Bedsheets, table linen
5	Clothing	Men's, women's or children's
6	Personal effects	Toilet articles, weapons, silver
7	Tools and instruments	Casks and barrels, irons, frames, spinning wheels, woodworking tools, garden tools
8	Foodstuffs	Wheat, meat, vegetable, drink
9	Livestock	Cows, swine, poultry, horses
10	Transport	Cutter (deluxe), sleigh, cart, plow

Table 7. Value of domestic goods and chattels by category (in French *livres*)

Workmen	Furniture	Bed	Utensils	Linen	Clothing	Personal Effects	Instruments & Tools	Foodstuffs	Livesock	Transport
Aubry, Jean	27*		26	3					30	
Aubry, Joseph	21	43	51	12			6	91	122	43
Boisvert	42	24	29	27		26	14	74	300	6
Bouvet	148	64	106	79		219	324	20	140	
Champagne	45		73		331			52		
Chèvrefils	348	266	233	182	174	4	136	490	932	
Delorme	190	430	50	175		20	34	103	108	40
Duval	66	34	99	20	81	5	68	148	92	34
Godard	36	148	99	86	50	70	12		152	
Marchand	32	180	93	141		32	17		70	
Perrin	20		28	20	11	50	7		44	

* The value of the two highest categories is underlined.

Looking at the total property it will be noted that the highest value was attached to livestock and foodstuffs in the appraisal of the worth of a workman's estate, especially if he happened to live on the land. Excluding these two categories, the list is headed by "bed and bedding," followed by furniture, utensils, personal effects (silver) and clothing in that order.

We should now compare the total value of these goods of various categories to the salary of the workmen involved (Table 8).

Table 8. Value of goods in relation to workmen's salaries

Workmen	Trade	Value of Goods	Salaries
Aubry, Jean	Collier	86L 2s	360L per annum or as per contract
Aubry, Joseph	Collier	302L	360L per annum or as per contract
Boisvert	Day labourer	574L 2d	360L per annum
Bouvet	Smith	1134L 2s	as per contract
Champagny	Foreman		700L per annum
Chèvrefils	Carpenter	2657L 2s	1000L per annum
Delorme	Foundryman	1152L 15s	700L per annum
Duval	Day labourer	647L 10s	360L per annum
Godard	Forgeman	652L 9s	700L per annum
Marchand	Forgeman	566L 15s	900L per annum
Perrin	Day labourer	180L 10s	360L per annum

This table provides some insight into the degree of material wealth enjoyed by the workmen. As a rule tradesmen were better off in this respect than day labourers. Pierre Marchand was an exception, though a more careful perusal of the inventory of his goods and chattels does indicate that he was richer in property estate than in personal estate. The workman's age is a factor in our consideration of the matter. Perrin was young, Bélisle was elderly, and most of the others were middle-aged. This obviously affected the affluence or otherwise of the family.

Interior Appointments

Is it possible to visualize the inside of a workman's dwelling? Ceilings and floors were made of logs, the walls were lathed and plastered or alternatively sheeted with boards.

Walls and floors appear to have been quite bare. Post-mortem inventories list no carpets, no decorative or religious objects hung on the walls, though this does not exclude the possibility that there might have been some pictures of too little value to be listed. There are, on the other hand, some references to mirrors. There were two in Bouvet's dwelling; one with a gilt frame and another, "vieux et mauvais" valued at 12L. The valuation suggests that the one with the gilt frame must have been of average size, approximately 15 x 20 inches. Jean Aubry and Louis Bélisle owned small mirrors or looking glasses for toilet purposes. They were 2 inches high and 3 or 4 inches wide with an appraised value of no more than 15s each.

The interior arrangement of the workmen's dwellings was based on two factors of the highest relevance at the time: the actual conception of space and the size and importance of the fireplace. In the days of the French régime space was considered in a light altogether different from that in which it would be viewed today: a room was a multi-purpose area rather than one devoted to a specific purpose. In his study of l'*Ancien régime* Philippe Ariès discussed the ideas of the time on the subject:

> People lived in all-purpose rooms ... In the same rooms where they ate, they slept, they danced, they worked, they entertained visitors. [Translation][16]

It follows that the common room called the *chambre* or *salle*, was the scene of activities of the most intimate and vital description: eating, drinking, warming oneself, sleeping, enjoying one's leisure time, working. On occasion one or two other smaller rooms were available: the *cabinet* or closet. It may have contained a little furniture, a bed for instance, or a chest - especially if it were heated or used for storage, as in the case of tradesmen's houses, as was seen above.

If the common room was used for a multiplicity of purposes it was because, in days past, life was entirely centered on the fire, and people lived in the heated part of the house. The fireplace provided for both heating and cooking. Space was so organized around this focus that a great many pieces of furniture were moveable: folding tables, trestle tables which could be moved about at will, according to the type of activity indulged in or the needs of the hour. There was however a limit to the distance they could be moved away from the fire whose heat radiation possibilities were themselves limited and could only be enjoyed at fairly close range. Stoves, in general use at the end of the French régime, supplemented open hearths.

The stove was located close to the fireplace and did not alter the spatial arrangement. It was only at the end of the 18th century that it became efficient enough to be used for cooking. The number of lengths of stovepipe was then increased so that it could be set up at some distance from the fireplace. A stove, even when located near the fireplace did provide increased comfort. It radiated heat further than an open fire, its efficiency being four times greater.

The most essential pieces of furniture in daily use were in the common room. The post-morten inventories are discussed according to the order in which objects and furniture appear in the documents. The drawing-up of these by the notary was a veritable ritual, invariably performed in exactly the same way. From these inventories the movement of the notary as he proceeded to appraise and describe the furniture (Figs. 9-17) has been reconstructed, and a list of activity areas has been established: hearth-kitchen, meals and work, sleep, storage.

As a rule inventories begin with the fireplace where all fireplace fittings and utensils used for cooking may be found. As often as not a dresser and a dough box stood nearby (heat causing bread to rise), as well as tables and chairs. Scattered about in the various corners were pieces of furniture used for storage: armoires, dressers, chests. Generally most workmen owned only those items essential for daily living: a hutch, a dresser to store kitchen utensils or food and a linen chest. Skilled workers, as opposed to journeymen, were somewhat more comfortably provided for. This was particularly true of a retired skilled worker such as Louis Chèvrefils dit Bélisle.

Furniture

Furniture used for sleeping. Listed among those items associated with sleeping and used by workmen at the ironworks are canopies and curtained beds, beds without such canopies or curtains, trestle-beds and cradles.

The curtained bed was usually that of the husband and wife. Marriage contracts list it as a personal effect thence the lack of any reference to it in a number of inventories, such as that of Nevers dit Boisvert, of Jean Aubry, Champagne or possibly of Bouvet. We do know about one owned by the widow of Jean Aubry at the time of the signing of her second marriage contract with Julien David

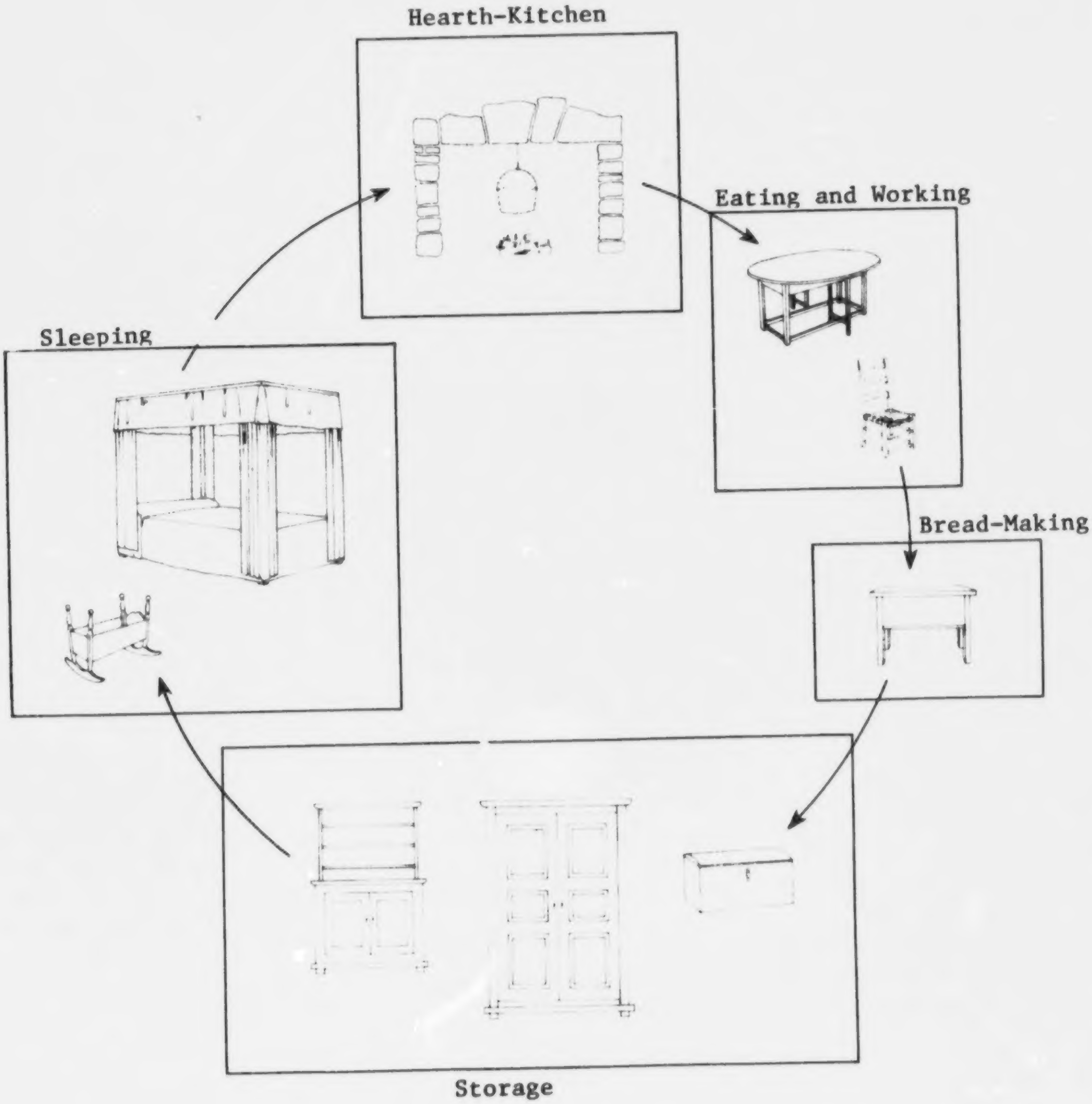

Hearth-Kitchen
Eating and Working
Sleeping
Bread-Making
Storage

Figure 9. Activity areas in the family home of Jean Aubry and wife, at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice in 1745.

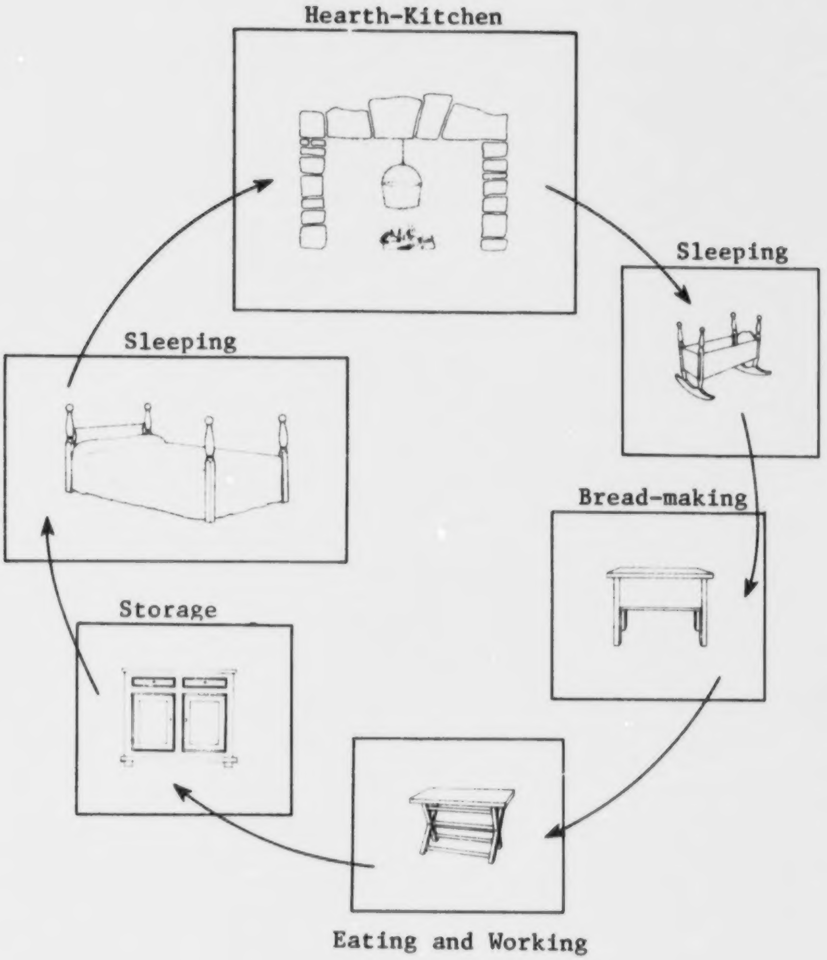


Figure 10. Activity areas in the family home of Joseph Aubry and wife at Baie-Saint-Antoine in 1750.

and contributed by her to the jointly held estate. As for the curtainless bed, it appears with far greater frequency in the inventories, there having been at least one per household and even two or three. There are only two references to trestle-beds, both in Godard's dwelling, though this type of furniture, which could readily be disassembled, should have been more popular. Finally, there are a few mentions of cradles or cribs (Perrin, Joseph Aubry and Bélisle inv.).

Inventories quote values for beds varying between 24L and 280L, depending on the number of parts used in their manufacture. The bed appraised at 280L is composed of a bedstead, a palliasse, a feather mattress, a mattress, a bolster, two sheets, two woolen blankets, a bedspread, as well as the canopy and curtains. The bed valued at 24L has nothing but a bedstead, two palliasses, a feather mattress covered with coarse linen of local manufacture, two sheets and a poor blanket. Textiles were extremely expensive, adding considerably to the total appraised value, the bedstead being reckoned as of little or no value by itself: 1L 20s to 4L (Champagne, Perrin, Duval and Bélisle inv.).

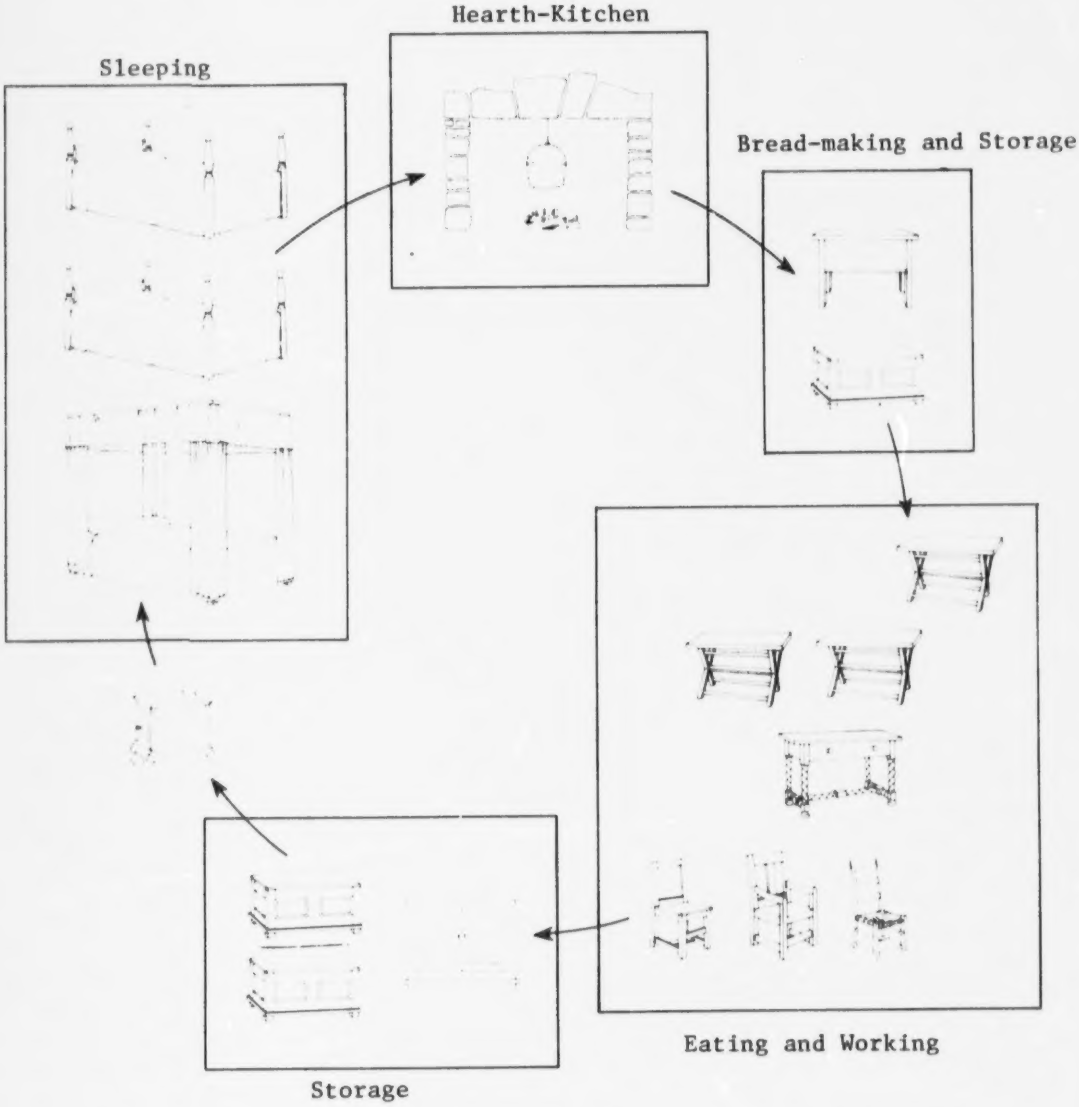

Hearth-Kitchen
Sleeping
Bread-making and Storage
Eating and Working
Storage

Figure 11. Activity areas in the family home of Pierre Bouvet and wife at Three Rivers, 1755.

The bed obviously was held to be an item of substantial worth as far as the total value of the joint estate was concerned, if only because it gave some indication of the degree of comfort enjoyed by the occupants of the house. The more blankets they used, the warmer they kept. Curtains answered a similar purpose, while providing a little added privacy.

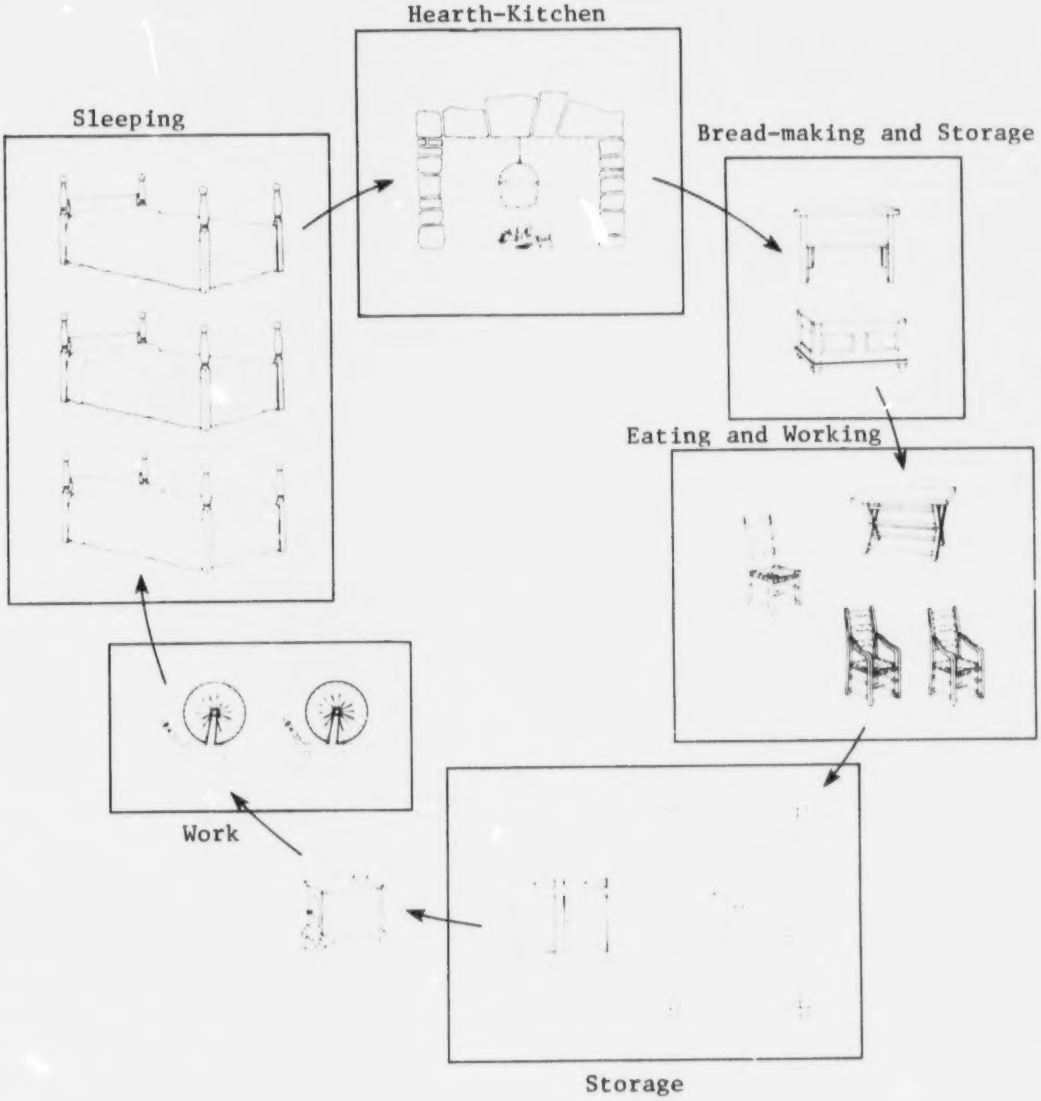

Hearth-Kitchen
Sleeping
Bread-making and Storage
Eating and Working
Work
Storage

Figure 12. Activity areas in the family home of Louis Chèvrefils dit Bélisle and his wife at Baie-Saint-Antoine, 1765.

Generally a bed with its bedding included the bedstead, a palliasse, a feather mattress, a bolster, two sheets and a blanket. Only skilled workers appeared affluent enough to cover the whole with a bedspread, a luxury of sorts (Delorme, Marchand, Godard, Bouvet and Bélisle inv.). References to valances and curtains are unusual (Delorme, Godard and Bouvet inv.) as are indications of the type of

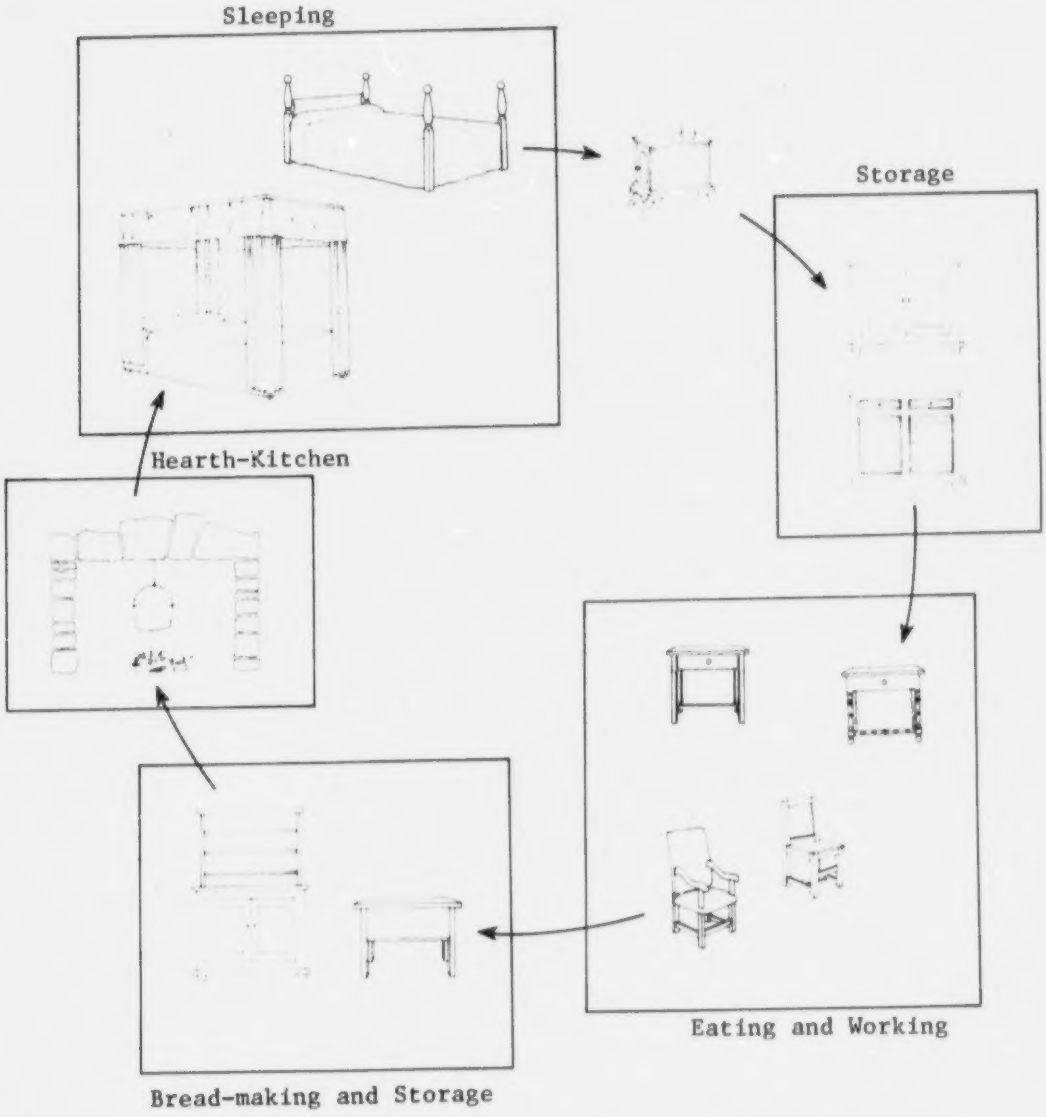

Sleeping
Storage
Hearth-Kitchen
Eating and Working
Bread-making and Storage

Figure 13. Activity areas in the family home of Joseph Delorme and wife at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice in 1755: this house included three rooms - one common room and two small rooms or closets.

material used for beddings. Feather mattresses, so-called "feather-beds" covered with coarse cloth of local manufacture, are mentioned twice. There is a single reference to one covered in duck, another to a white woolen blanket, yet another to one in green Toulouse wool, two to a green serge bedspread, one to an embroidered cotton bedspread, one to a red serge valance. These materials were all in general use at that time.[17] The stock-in-trade

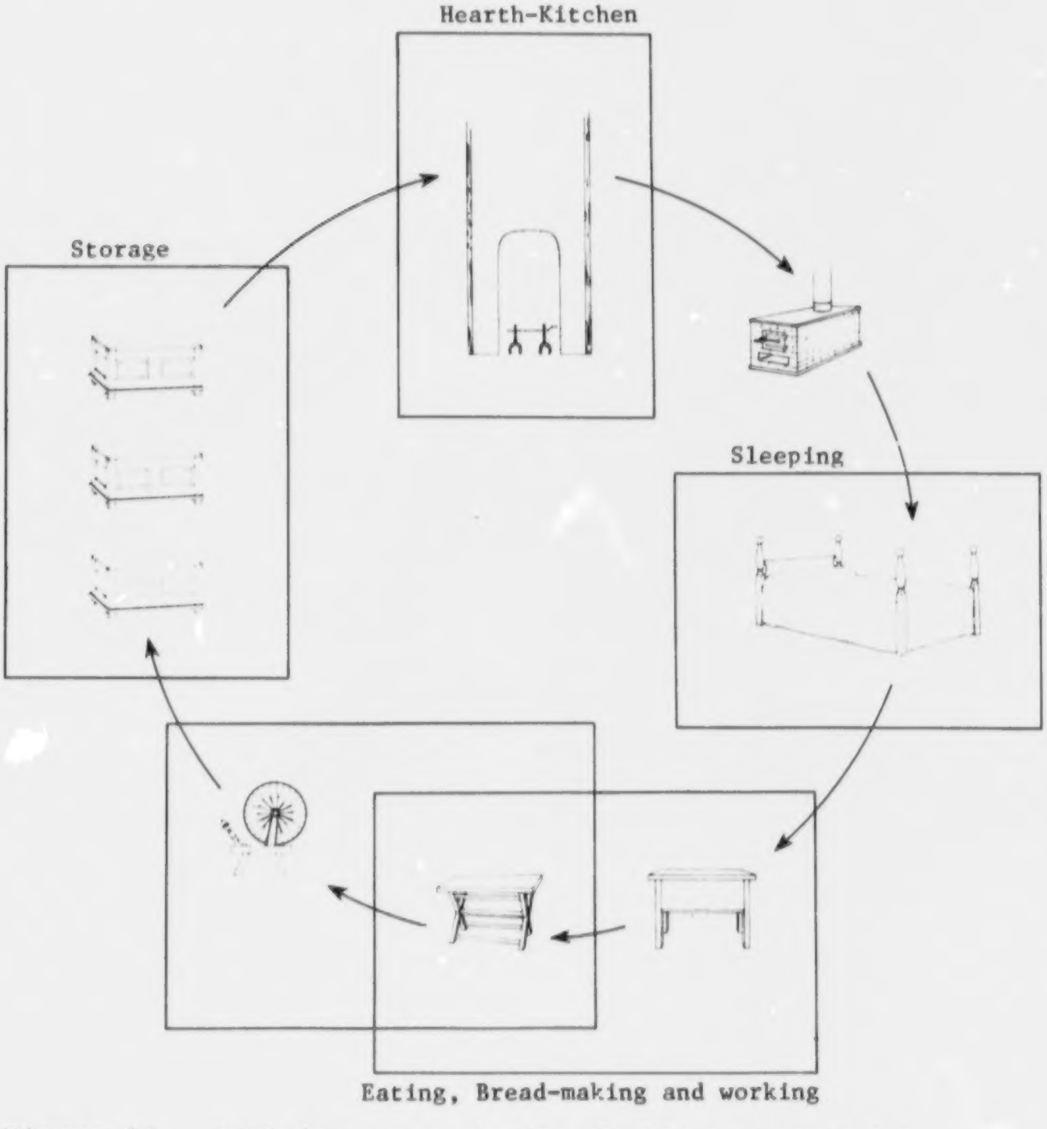

Hearth-Kitchen
Storage
Sleeping
Eating, Bread-making and working

Figure 14. Activity areas in the dwelling occupied by François de Nevers dit Boisvert and wife at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, 1756.

of the store at Les Forges included no bedding, save six crib blankets.

Only skilled workers appear to have owned any change of bedding. In Delorme's sideboard or his armoire could be found, for instance, nine pairs of sheets (90L); at Marchand's, eight sheets (34L), a bedspread of English stuff (14L), ten sheets (30L), one bedspread (30L) and at Chèvrefils, 14 sheets (63L 10s).

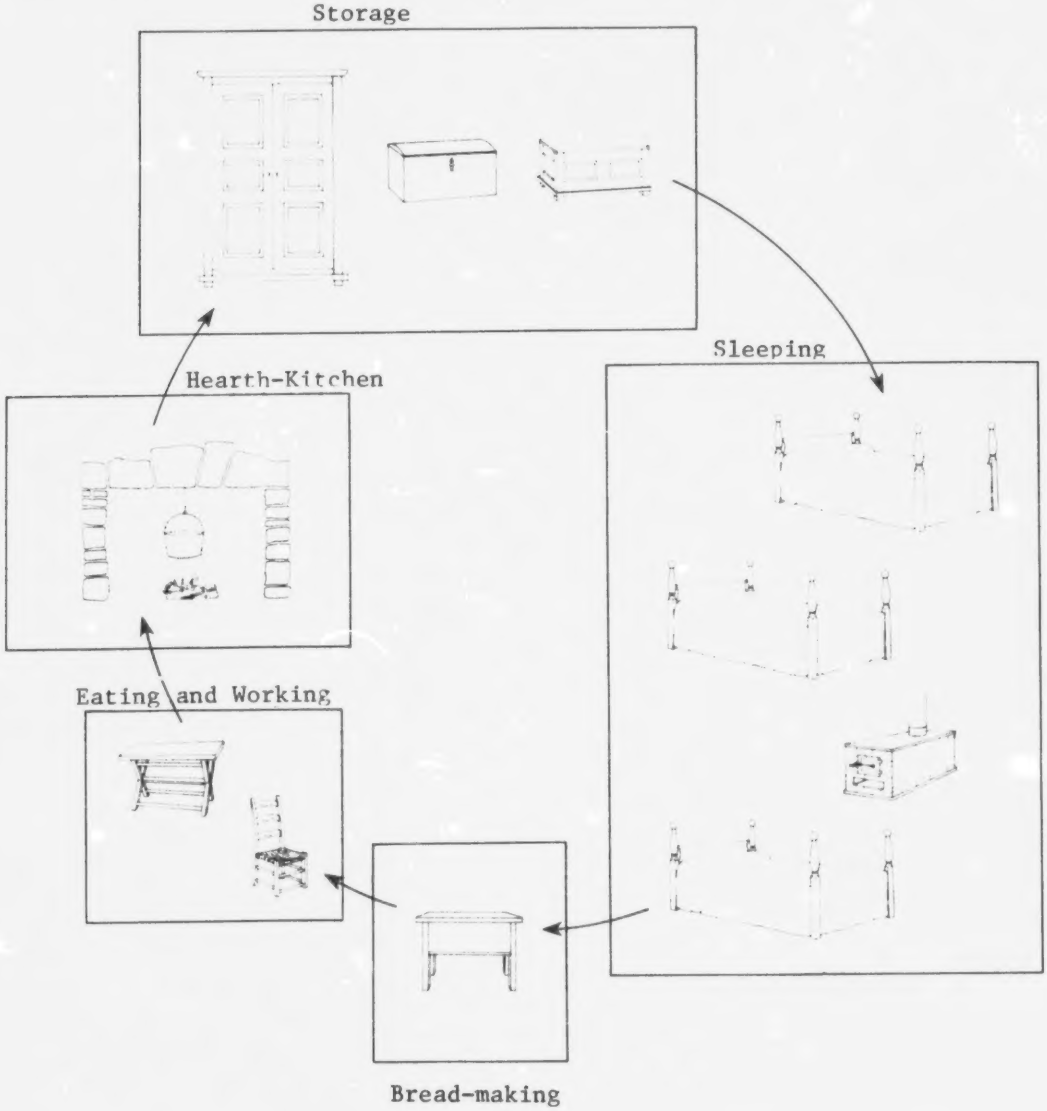

Storage
Sleeping
Hearth-Kitchen
Eating and Working
Bread-making

Figure 15. Activity areas in the family home of Julien Duval and wife at Pointe-du-Lac, 1750.

The question arises as to whether, in these workmen's dwellings, every occupant was provided with his or her own place to sleep. I have attempted to match the number of beds described in the inventories to the number of members of the household at the time of the death of one of the parents (omitting married children). Clearly a bed occupied

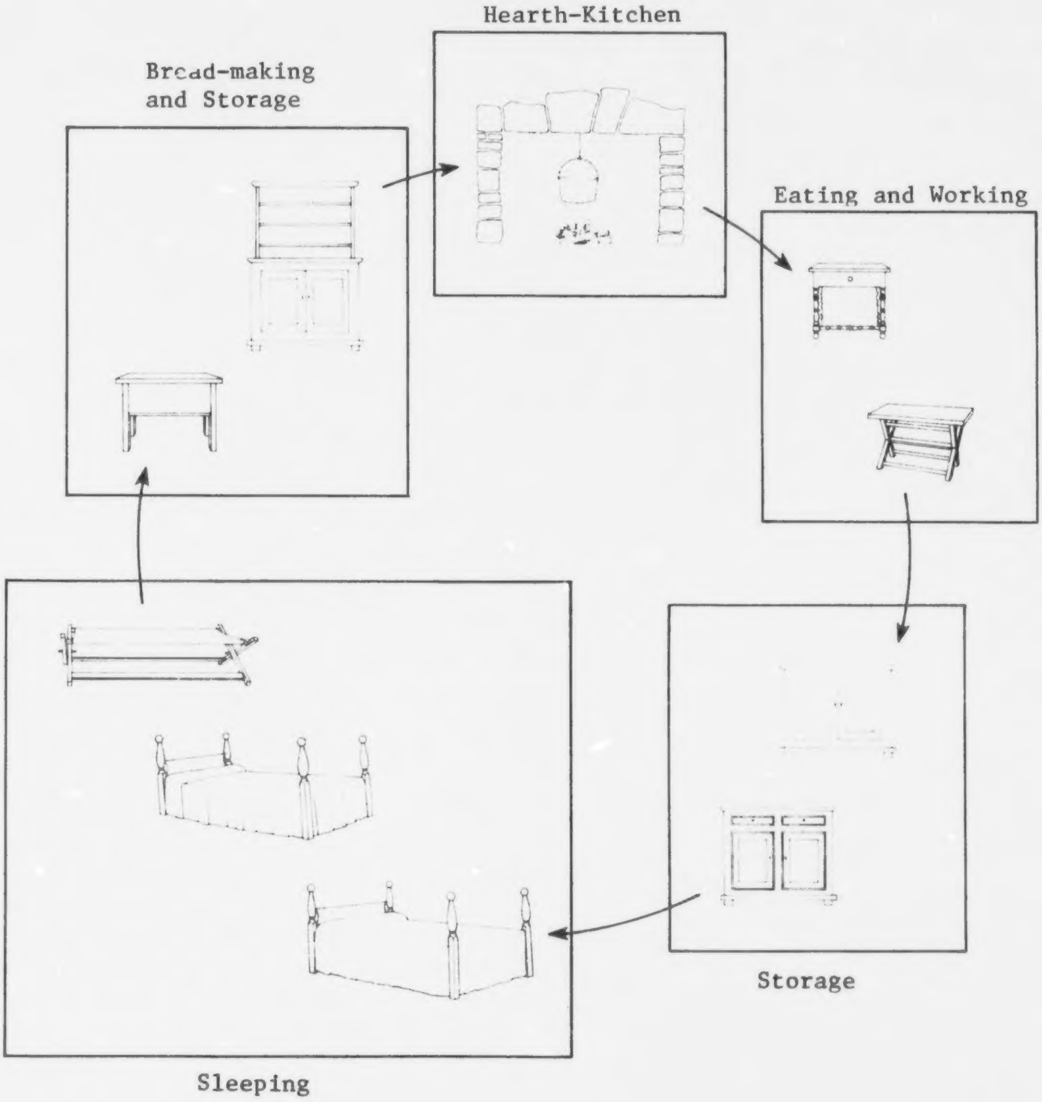

Hearth-Kitchen
Bread-making and Storage
Eating and Working
Storage
Sleeping

Figure 16. Activity areas in the family home of François Godard and wife at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice in 1756, including two rooms: a large common room and a small room or closet.

by a single person was a rarity at the time. Inventories would suggest that two or three children, maybe of the same sex, would share a single bed. And what about mothers who kept their children with them? This was a practice which had met with Bishop Pontbriand's stern disapproval. He had in fact felt it his duty to issue a warning on the point to the members of his Acadian and Canadian flock in a letter dated 20 April 1742:

> I am also told that mothers sleep with their children, on the pretext that they have never had any accidents (smothering), and that the children are in greater danger of dying of cold. I would like every missionary to inform me specifically of his opinion on this matter, in order that a decision may be reached. This practice, of course, is forbidden in certain dioceses in France. Perhaps it would be possible to follow this practice at least during the summer and to await our decision as regards the winter. [Translation][18]

No action was taken by Mgr. Pontbriand following this letter. While there is some doubt as to the significance or otherwise of this custom it does indicate a peculiarity of the mores of the time and bears mentioning.

Furniture for meals and armchairs. All members of the household foregathered at mealtimes as well as at night. On these occasions all could be found around the table eating, either simultaneously or in turn.

The workman's dining table was a trestle table, a versatile piece of furniture which could be assembled and moved about, either close to the fire for meals or work or put away, against the wall afterwards. Around the table could be arranged a number of chairs, with wooden or rush-seats, varying in number from four to eleven. We have no reference to any bench. On the other hand four inventories omit chairs altogether (Boisvert, Godard, Perrin, Joseph Aubry inv.).

Skilled workers owned more than one table, one of which might be a more elaborate affair, e.g., a table with yellow birch lathe-turned legs covered with a cloth of English stuff (Delorme inv.), a small square table (Marchand inv.), a table with turned legs covered with a small cloth (Godard inv.), a table with spirally turned legs with a tapestry tablecloth (Bouvet inv.). Another might have been a second or third folding table most useful for a multiplicity of domestic purposes (Marchand, Champagne, Bouvet inv.).

Armchairs were unusual in skilled workers' dwellings, except in the homes of Delorme, Champagne, Bouvet and Bélisle. At that the first three boasted only one each, whereas the last named owned two rush-seat armchairs.

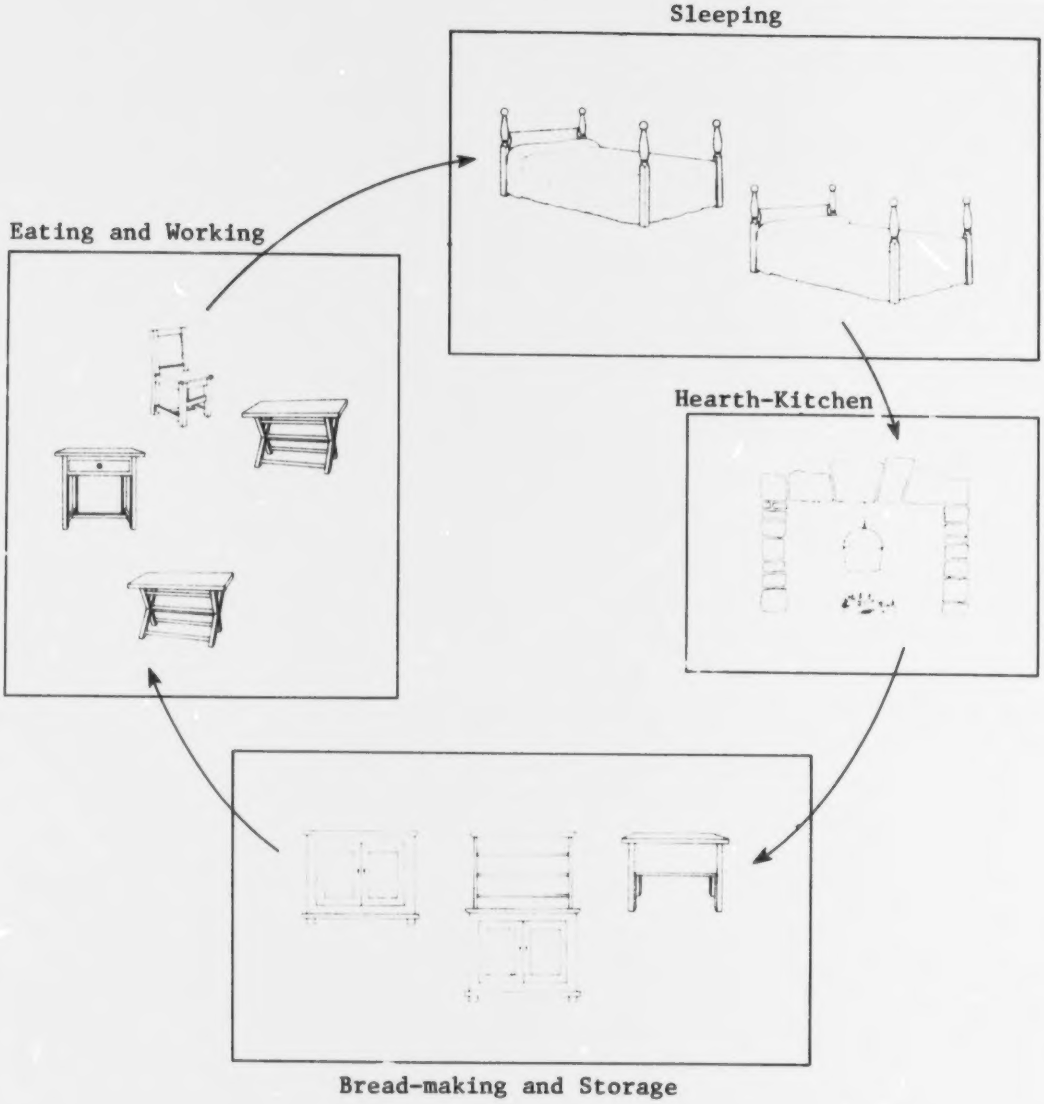

Sleeping
Eating and Working
Hearth-Kitchen
Bread-making and Storage

Figure 17. Activities area in the family home of Pierre Marchand and wife at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice in 1752 including two rooms, a common room and a closet.

Furniture for work. There were no pieces of furniture specifically designed for work in the workmen's house, except some spinning wheels or hutches. Every inventory records a hutch for making or storing bread and flour. On the other hand spinning wheels are mentioned only twice (Boisvert and Bélisle inv.). Boisvert, who lived at Baie

Saint-Antoine, raised sheep, hence his need for equipment of that kind. As far as can be ascertained from the inventories nobody at the village of Les Forges raised sheep, making ownership of a spinning wheel pointless, though Madeleine Piché dit Dupré, François Boisvert's wife, did indeed work on one, as indicated by the spinning wheel, thread, tow and cotton mentioned in the inventory.

Furniture for storage. There were any number of types of furniture used for storage, further evidence of the difference in status between skilled workers and day labourers. The former particularly would boast of buffets and dressers. Delorme, Marchand, Champagne and Godard each owned a dresser to store crockery, along with buffets for keeping food, table or bed linen or clothes. They appear to have had very few armoires or chests. Bouvet had one buffet and three chests. Bélisle's worldly possessions, in this respect, were more varied: one buffet, one armoire and two chests. Day labourers were more poorly supplied. Boisvert had only three chests; Perrin a single dresser and a chest; Jean Aubry one armoire and one round-topped chest; Joseph Aubry, a buffet and a small chest; Duval an armoire, a chest as well as a round-topped chest.

Heating

In the sections devoted so far to the dwellings of the workmen the number of chimneys with which each was provided has been noted: one, two or even four designed for both heating and cooking. Stoves complemented open fires for heating purposes. These were unusual in the forties, but had come into general use by the end of the French régime.

Both hearths and stoves burned wood, provided by the company. For a single year, 1742, for instance, the latter supplied no less than 1500 cords of firewood for *La Grande Maison* as well as for workmen's dwellings.[19] While this does not indicate how much was actually consumed per household an indication is provided by a document from the days of the British military administration (the custom remained unchanged) which speaks of 20 cords per annum.[20]

Lighting

Open fires in the hearth really came into their own after dusk, supplying light as well as heat. Still, while they did favour conversation, they were hardly adequate during the winter months with their short hours of daylight, complicating meals and work. The extra lighting required was provided by candles or oil lamps; the types of fixtures

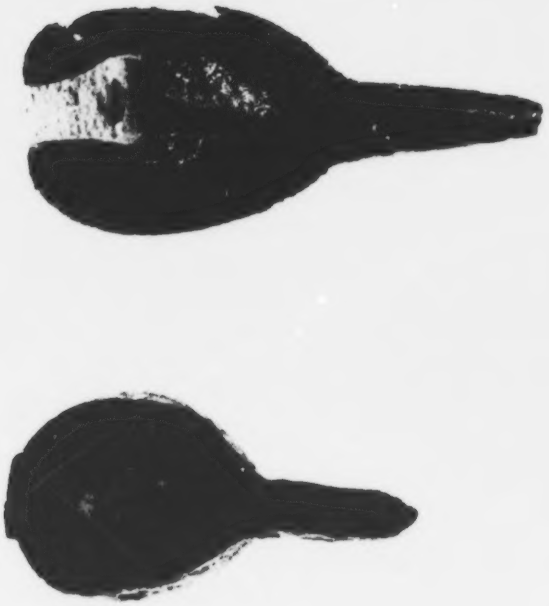


Figure 18. Small oil lamps, otherwise known as *lampes de charaille*, and now as *becs-de-corbeau* (or crows' beaks). The first is still fitted with a rod to suspend it by a hook from a rafter or from the mantelpiece.

varied widely.

There were brass or iron candlesticks, flat brass candlesticks known as martinets, iron lamps, *lampes de charaille*, a gilt candelabra (mentioned only in the Bouvet inv.) or sheet metal lamps.

The main source of light was the candle, standing in a brass candlestick. This was the arrangement most frequently found, in twos, threes or fours. Candles could be obtained from the company store at a cost of 15s per pound (inv. 1748) or manufactured at home, by molding or dipping. Jean Aubry's and, at a later date, Julien Duval's family owned a sheet metal candle-mould the others no doubt preferring the dipping method. Snuffers were used to trim the candlewick (Godard, Boisvert and Bouvet inv.). A type of iron lamp known as *lampe de charaille*, using oil or animal fat was also used, though its unpleasant odour may have contributed to its limited use. Only one is mentioned, in any event, in the inventory of Jean Aubry's estate. Oil could be bought at the company store (inv. 1746) as well as iron lamps.

Out of doors around the house, a sheet metal lantern was used (Marchand, Godard, Bouvet, Duval and Bélisle inv.).

These were always available from the company store (inv. 1741, 1746 and 1748).

Activities

Food

Food and activities associated with it held an important place in domestic life. Directly or indirectly, a large number of pieces of domestic equipment were used for eating. A great deal of time must have been spent in the preparation, cooking and consumption of food, as well as in looking after the stock or tending the vegetable garden. The company itself went to considerable pains to provide for the inhabitants. Apart from what little food they would acquire from the raising of a few head of livestock or, possibly from their little vegetable plot, they had to rely on outside sources of supply.

Procurement of Supplies

From the outset, that is, from the very beginning of Les Forges, the administrators were faced with a lack of currency with which to pay their workmen. It was therefore necessary to pay them in kind by supplying them with food or various types of goods. This system was in operation as early as 1733. An ordinance dated 24 April 1733 allowed Francheville to bring in from Montreal 150 *minots* of wheat "to pay the workmen in wheat for use as seed as well as for food." [Translation][21] Not only are we informed thereby of the actual system of remuneration and the origin of the wheat but also about the original intention which was to make it possible for the workers to provide in time for their own sustenance by growing wheat. As far as can be ascertained nothing came of this plan.

Under the Cugnet management the directors, more particularly Cugnet himself, were personally involved in the distribution of food supplies. Oliver de Vézin himself, the ironmaster, requested that the company store be stocked with goods to protect the workmen against the rapaciousness of the merchants of Three Rivers.[22] On 15 May 1739, Cugnet and Taschereau entered into partnership with Perrault and Cressé "for all trade to be carried on at St. Maurice ... in dry goods and spirits, wheat, flour, peas, pork, eggs...." [Translation][23] Perrault and Cressé were required in addition to mill wheat, bake bread and have livestock slaughtered and quartered. Sales to them were at cost price, including the cost of transportation, on a cash and carry basis, or alternatively, on credit or by way of vouchers issued by the ironmaster.

> M. Perrault shall keep a separate register, in which he shall record, by order of date, the quantities and prices of such flour, vegetables, meats, poultry, wines, spirits, furniture and utensils as he shall provide.
>
> [Translation][24] (Memo of 18 March 1740)

All these goods, then, were on sale to the workmen at the company store. Unfortunately no register or record of accounts has come down to us through which it would have been possible to learn something about the frequency of purchases, sales or consumption of foodstuffs. Our only sources of information are some letters of complaint and a few reports or statements of account, most of which date from the Estèbe administration of 1741-43. The foodstuffs referred to were mainly flour, or wheat, meats, wine and spirits. Flour and meat were the staple ingredients of the worker's diet and were the most difficult to obtain, especially in years of food shortages, as was the case in 1737 and 1738. Drink was liberally consumed, resulting in fighting among the workers and complaints from the directors. Foodstuffs such as wheat, flour, bread, meat and drink were principally obtained from Crown stores or bought from the merchants of the colony. Generally speaking the workmen called at the store every week or two for their supplies.[25]

It goes without saying that the existence of a store at Les Forges had many advantages: the village of Les Forges was located about 10 km from the town of Three Rivers and considerably farther from Montreal and Quebec City and the Les Forges store made this travelling unnecessary and ensured the employees' regular attendance at work. Moreover, would the merchants of Three Rivers have been able to supply all the necessary provisions for the population of Les Forges? Some would have sold at excessive prices taking into account the heavy transportation costs; others would have taken advantage of the opportunity to reap a fortune. Whereas, in principle, the company store offered these provisions to the workers at cost price including transportation costs which kept the price lower than that of the merchants in Three Rivers.

During Cugnet's administration, there was always friction among the associates, in particular between Vézin and Cugnet. Much of the friction revolved around the Les Forges store. Without taking sides, let us examine each of their points of view.

According to Olivier de Vézin, a store at les Forges selling food, drink and dry goods led to never-ending problems. This commerce increased the costs of operation and created unpleasant situations for the administrators. From 1736-39, Vézin was in charge of the store and in 1739

Perrault and Cressé took over this responsibility. But, in the words of Vézin, the very existence of the store occasioned trouble: on the one hand, the workers were always dissatisfied with the provisions, on the other hand, the liquor which they procured led to debauchery. The workers demanded liquor and if not provided, they refused to work. If available, they spent too much, got into debt and this affected their work. Once in debt they demanded higher salaries and this in turn increased the costs of operation. If the workers had been paid in money, they would have been thriftier, better disciplined, with better work habits. Paid in kind they became entirely dependent on the company, went into debt and behaved insolently on the job. This form of blackmail was all the more effective in that they were few in number. In addition they felt that the goods were their due and tended to select, not what they needed most, but what was most expensive. And what of the supplies themselves? According to Vézin they reached Les Forges in wretched condition. In 1738, for instance, he received spoilt flour and pork.[26]

Cugnet answered these charges point by point. The workmen might indeed claim to be unhappy with the goods. But this was because they were egged on by the merchants of Three Rivers who were clearly at a disadvantage and lost money because of the trade carried on by Messrs. Perrault and Cressé. The store, Cugnet said, had nothing to do with the drunken habits of the workmen. They themselves were to blame, being far too prone to drink to access. This was the problem that had to be tackled. Doing away with the store would contribute nothing to the solution of the problem. Like the intendant Hocquart, Cugnet felt that if there were no store at Les Forges the workers would use this as an excuse to go to Three Rivers to buy alcohol and get drunk.[27] It was indeed Cugnet's purpose to offer goods for sale at reasonable prices in order to make it unnecessary for them to journey to Three Rivers or elsewhere. Cugnet also pointed out that the original idea for the establishment of the store was Vézin's own, and that he, Vézin, intended thereby to free the company and its workers from the clutches of the merchants of Three Rivers. As for the complaints about damaged goods Cugnet felt Vézin should have put his own complaint in writing, officially, and returned the goods to Quebec.[28]

When Cugnet went into receivership and the company passed to the Crown, the administrators retained the store. On Intendent Hocquart's urging, however, attempts were made to improve the workmen's ways and to repress their taste for alcohol.

Staples. From what little information is available on supplies at Les Forges it is impossible to reconstruct the complete range of foodstuffs consumed by the inhabitants nor of course, to establish what their exact diet could have been. Nor are post-mortem inventories particularly useful in this regard, there being no mention of perishable items or ordinary consumer goods. There are a few passing references of such things as cereals and meat, but clearly a large part of the provisions is ignored. Gaps can be filled nevertheless from travel accounts or other secondary sources.

Bread. Bread was a staple item in the diet of the inhabitants of New France. We are told by Robert-Lionel Seguin that this was of two types: white bread made from wheat and brown, made of bran and rye.[29] It may be assumed that there was only white bread at Les Forges, for there is no mention of any type of cereal except wheat in our source material, save for the odd reference to oats used for feed.

When the ironworks company laid in a supply of wheat, it assumed responsibility to have it ground and the flour screened. The grinding was done at the mill of the Jesuits of Cap-de-la-Madeleine and at the mill of M. de Tonnancour at Pointe-du-Lac.[30] The screening and transport from Three Rivers or to the mills were done by the day labourers.[31]

It seems probable that workmen purchased their flour whenever they required it, there being no more than two references to wheat or flour in their inventories: Delorme had 26 *minots* of flour and four of wheat, Boisvert, 9 *minots* of flour. These workmen who lived outside Les Forges had larger stocks: Bouvet had 8 *minots* of flour, Joseph Aubry and Duval had 40 *minots* and 2½ *minots* of wheat respectively, no doubt grown on their own land. Chèvrefils dit Bélisle, who had retired, produced from his land in 1765, supplies of 47 *minots* of flour and 56 *demi-minots* of wheat.

One interesting fact has come to light. Pierre Marchand, a workman, owned land which he rented to a habitant for 20 *minots* of wheat, to be delivered in January.[32] This is the only reported case of the kind.

Meat. A difficult climate and the physical hardships associated with work at Les Forges led to a high rate of meat consumption and workmen were well provided for in this respect. To quote Olivier de Vézin:

> (every workman), together with his wife and each member of his family, eats his half-pound of salt pork or pound of beef a day. [Translation][33]

The company store carried salt pork and beef. In addition, as often as not, workmen owned a few head of livestock - cows and pigs - as well as poultry. These roamed freely through the stands of young timber. In 1740 Cugnet complained that they were eating or crushing the new shoots and suggested that they be kept in a fenced-in area.[34] No action was taken on this suggestion, a matter of regret for Hocquart and the subject matter of a 1745 ordinance.

> The said workmen, carters and other residents shall be permitted to raise as many cows and sheep as they wish. However, they must ensure that these animals do not wander away from the area behind the stables, on pain of a fine of 10L for owners allowing them to go into the reserves above the big hill ... A special regulation shall be issued by Belleville and Cressé regarding the establishment of a livestock keeper at the expense of the owners. [Translation][35]

The seriousness of the problems can readily be understood. A mere ten inventories - seven of workmen's property and three of Les Forges - record 18 hogs, 13 cows, 4 oxen and 49 birds.

Pork consumption at Les Forges was high. It was eaten fresh, cured in brine or smoked over the hearth.[36] But its main use was as a kind of bacon which when salted (salt pork), served as meat throughout the year. It was stored in salt bins in the form of large slices covered with coarse salt. The company also looked after the supply of this commodity, meeting the costs of butchering, salt and casks for storage. This was the case when Gamelin shipped salt pork to Les Forges,[37] when Perrault and Cressé entered into partnership[38] and again when the company passed into the hands of the Crown. Evidence of this is provided by the following entry:

> (Paid) to Valcour for 4 days employed in cleaning the cellars and adding brine to the salting tubs, at 30s a day, 6L [Translation][39]

Workmen also, in part, looked after their own needs. Almost every family whose property inventory has come down to us owned at least one hog. In addition three more were kept at *La Grande Maison* to satisfy some of the basic requirements of masters and servants. Even at that salt pork supplies were by no means considerable. Only Delorme and Boisvert had any quantity of it, 30 and 40 pounds respectively. No doubt the workmen supplied themselves from the store, purchasing small quantities at a time. In 1741 the store stocked 6145 pounds of salt pork for sale and 211 pounds of pigs' feet and heads. Those workmen who lived beyond the village limits owned more swine and had larger reserves (App. G).

Beef was also consumed at Les Forges though references to supplies of this commodity are minimal. In fact we have only a single reference, dating from Estèbe's time, save for the odd reference to oats used for feed.

At Les Forges workmen kept no oxen, merely milk cows though the 1748 inventory of property does mention four head of oxen. On the other hand those employees living outside owned both calves and oxen. Bélisle had six oxen, Bouvet, Joseph Aubry and Duval one calf each. There was one serious disadvantage as far as beef was concerned: it had to be eaten fresh. To preserve it, freezing was preferred to salting. In this connection, Nicolas-Gaspard Boucault, personal lieutenant of the provost of Quebec, wrote in his report entitled *État présent du Canada* (1754):

> At the end of December, to save feed, the habitant slaughters any stock he does not want to keep and allows the meat to freeze overnight, which makes it as hard as rock, and then, after taking what he needs, he transports the rest to town, the beef in quarters, the sheep dressed whole or in half, and the poultry unplucked; thus all are encouraged to lay in provisions. [Translation][40]

This means that beef kept well only in winter, which made for reduced consumption. It would appear that workmen supplied themselves on the basis of their immediate needs and laid in no stocks. This at least would explain the paucity of references to it.

Veal and mutton were rarely eaten. References to sheep appear in the inventories of some workmen who lived beyond the village limits such as Joseph Aubry, who owned six sheep and four lambs or Bélisle who had eight ewes, four lambs and one ram.

Poultry and poultry products. These were clearly much appreciated. A few workmen had substantial flocks. Delorme had 14 hens and a rooster, Marchand several hens and a rooster. Boisvert, 19 birds and Perrin six hens. The same was true of those workmen living outside the village. We are reminded of a statement made by the Chevalier de la Pause about the living habits of Canadians (between 1755 an 1760): "They (the inhabitants of New France) raise large numbers of turkeys and hens." [Translation][41]

Game. Obviously workmen enjoyed hunting; it was one way of supplementing their fare. A few of them possessed weapons. The 1741 inventory of the goods stored at *La Grande Maison* mentions five Tulle muskets used for shooting game. In addition accounts from Estèbe's time refer to a purchase of 40 pounds of lead shot.[42] In 1746 there was in the company store, one pound of shot for hunting pieces.[43] Such references to material of that kind at *La Grande Maison* or in the store are somewhat surprising. As early as 9 April 1739, an ordinance had been issued prohibiting all inhabitants from shooting game on land belonging to the company or to the Saint Maurice seigneury, because of the risk of fire.[44] The prohibition was renewed in a further ordinance of 22 April 1746, restating the danger of fire, made all the more serious by the fact that workmen hunted every day. The ordinance reads thus:

> Ordinance of April 22, 1746 (?) forbidding smiths and other workmen from Les Forges to hunt in the surrounding woods, as they do every day, on pain of a fine of 10L the first time and corporal punishment thereafter, in view of the danger of fire. [Translation][45]

Subsequently, under British administration, a regulation of 19 May 1762, reenacted on July 22 of the same year, again prohibited shooting on lands belonging to Les Forges or the seigneury of Saint Maurice.[46] But all prohibitions notwithstanding the habit was deeply engrained.

But what manner of game was hunted? What could be found in the woods around Les Forges? Journeying through the area in 1752 Franquet noted that he had observed "dans la traversée (of the wood leading to Les Forges) plusieurs tourtes et perdrix."[47] Nicolas-Gaspard de Boucault, in his report on the state of Canada in 1754, remarks on the abundance of game in New France:

> The country abounds with every kind of fowl and game ...; partridge ... and bustards are very common, in addition to ordinary ducks. There are some which perch in trees, which are known as *canards branchiés*, or tree ducks; they are excellent eating and have beautiful plumage. In the country above Fort Frontenac, there are wild turkey, pheasant and quail...
>
> In the early spring, the skies are filled with countless wood pigeons returning from the warm countries and commonly known as *tourtes*, or passenger pigeons ...
>
> Some years, there are almost as many partridge flying south during the winter. [Translation][48]

According to this game warden these young *tourtes* (passenger pigeons) roasted or grilled, made excellent eating, the older birds being better jugged or potted. Osteological remains indicate that passenger pigeons and pigeons were indeed shot by the workmen.[49]

Fish. Did the workmen at Les Forges enjoy angling? Did they eat much fish? Evidence on these points is sparse. According to the 1741 inventory the company store carried 1000 fishhooks, 350 trout hooks and 19 hooks for catfish.[50] Fishing tackle was deemed to be of such little value that no reference to it even appears in inventories. A number of hooks were however dug up on the site. As for the preparation and consumption of fish it required no particular equipment, except perhaps an iron for eels. There is only one reference to such a utensil in the inventories, in Bouvet's, a worker at Les Forges who resided at Three Rivers at the time of his wife's death. But what species of fish could be found in the waters of the Saint-Maurice? It is difficult to say. Hooks suggest perch, trout or catfish. Tomcods spawned in the water of the river, venturing as far as the rapids at Les Forges.[51] However other waters were available. There was no lack of lakes and river, even the St. Lawrence itself. According to Prosper Cloutier, the Three Rivers area has been and still is rich in various kinds of fish. In various locations, suited to their particular habits or their specific habitat there were species such as eel, black bass, sturgeon, pike, carp, bullfish, smelt and trout.[52] Osteological evidence points to the consumption of fish such as black bass, sucker, doré and sturgeon.[53]

Dairy products. Milk was undoubtedly consumed at Les Forges. Each of the workmen whose property inventory has been preserved records at least one cow. Even for *La Grande Maison*, in 1741, there is a reference to two cows. In 1746 and 1748 however, there was only one. Kalm, in his journeys, expressed surprise at the volume of milk consumed by the Canadian habitants:

> Milk is used in the preparation of almost every dish the farmer eats. Butter is rarely served and is almost always made with sour cream; as a result, it is greatly inferior to English butter. The French love milk and drink a great deal of it, particularly on fast days. [Translation][54]

Kalm's observation about butter appears accurate, on the evidence of the inventories. Boisvert and Duval alone had stocks of butter: the former four pounds and the latter 20. It would however seem probable that if butter was not in fact, served on the table, it must have been used for cooking, in one way or another. But butter was used when available, that is, when dairy production was adequate. When there was enough or more than enough milk there was nothing to prevent it from being churned by hand in a pan. It is difficult to say if curdled milk was made into cheese. References to specific equipment in this respect are inconclusive. Only the Duval family owned a butter churn and the Delorme's a cheese mold. Dairy products required no great quantity of complicated equipment: pans and strainers, strong arms and patience sufficed. We know that pans and strainers existed in all households.

Fruit and vegetables. It is only natural to claim that the workmen at Les Forges maintained a small vegetable garden providing in season, such fresh products as they might require. Yet we have no documented evidence of the fact prior to the early years of the 19th century. If they did have such gardens before we really have no idea of what was actually grown. Only those workmen living on the land could produce enough volume to constitute reserves. According to inventories Aubry had 20 *minots* of peas, Duval a half-*minot* of peas and one of Indian corn. Bélisle, who had retired, had five and a half *minots* of peas. As for the vegetables supplied by the company it would seem that none were available except peas, infrequently mentioned at that. Between 1741 and 1742 there was purchased from the sieur de Tonnancour, a Three Rivers merchant, a half-*minot* of white peas.

But besides peas, which were clearly part of the workmen's diet, what did they in fact consume? The answer to the question can be found only in Kalm's account of his journey. An entry of 7 August 1749 provides both a description of the city of Quebec and by way of digression, observations on Canadian plants.

> Vegetables do very well here (Canada), white cabbage ... particularly grows marvellously well ...
>
> Onions are used extensively ... in Canada, as are leeks. In addition, they grow several types of squash, melons, lettuce, chicory or wild endive, ... several types of peas and beans, carrots and cucumbers. Red beets, horseradish and ordinary radishes, thyme and marjoram do extremely well, as do turnips, which are eaten in quantity, especially during the winter. Parsnips are occasionally served, but they are not common. Few people are familiar with the potato, and neither the common variety ... nor the sweet potato is grown here ... [Translation][55]

Spices and seasoning. Salt and pepper were imported from France. There is no reference to salt-cellars or salt-shakers. But if there was no salt on the table it was nevertheless much used for preserving food, especially pork. Salt was occasionally stocked for that purpose. Duval and Bélisle for instance had one and one quarter and two *minots* of salt respectively. As for pepper there are only two references to pepper pots, one in the home of the forgeman Marchand, and the other in that of the stoker Godard.

Cooking bases. Traditionally, cooking was done with butter, shortening (lard) or olive oil. There is no documentary evidence as to which of these was favoured by the cooks of the time. In 1741 the company store carried 50 pounds of olive oil. Between then and 1742 the company made several purchases of the product. I have taken into account only one reference of such a transaction, the oil being part of a larger shipment of goods, the other references relating to various items of equipment and tools. We know, of course that olive oil was used for the maintenance of industrial equipment, for example, to lubricate the bellows. It was, consequently, in constant supply and readily available. As for cooking lard there was no lack of it, considering the number of hogs raised. The only large stock of this commodity was found at Duval's.

Drink. The simplest and most readily available type of drink was naturally water. When drawn from streams it might however have had a slightly ferrous taste. The fact that cows were raised suggests that milk might also have been consumed. It is impossible to say whether tea or coffee were popular. Such references as are available with regard to utensils used for their consumption are scarcely enlightening. There is a single reference to a teapot and coffee cups at Bouvet's and another to coffee cups at Godard's. And yet, according to the appraisal for import taxes for 1748, Martinique coffee sold at between 8 and 10s per pound, Ile Bourbon (la Réunion) coffee sold at from 18 to 20s per pound and Moka coffee from 28 to 30s for the same quantity. But imports of at least two types were far from equalling that of coffee from the Americas. As for tea the tax referred to above indicated a price twice that of coffee.[56]

Wine and spirits were undoubtedly in great demand. Much is made of abuses in this connection in official reports and letters. These beverages were always available and workmen hardly felt the need to lay in large stocks of them, with the single exception of Duval who had nine *veltes* of spirits and nine jugs of wine. He was not however a resident at Les Forges.

Indeed the observation applies to all such commodies. Those who lived at Les Forges laid in no great stocks of them, the reverse being true of those who lived outside. This might simply be that post-mortem inventories rarely mention food, or on the other hand, that it was always readily available from the company store. As for livestock or poultry workmen who lived in the village had fewer than those who lived on the land.

Food Preparation. The commodities listed above generally required some preparation before being served. The cook and the members of the household were well supplied with utensils of all kinds. Utensils for the fireplace or for cooking were invariably left near the hearth whereas table utensils could be found nearby on the dresser, or in an armoire. The hearth in fact, was the kitchen area of the

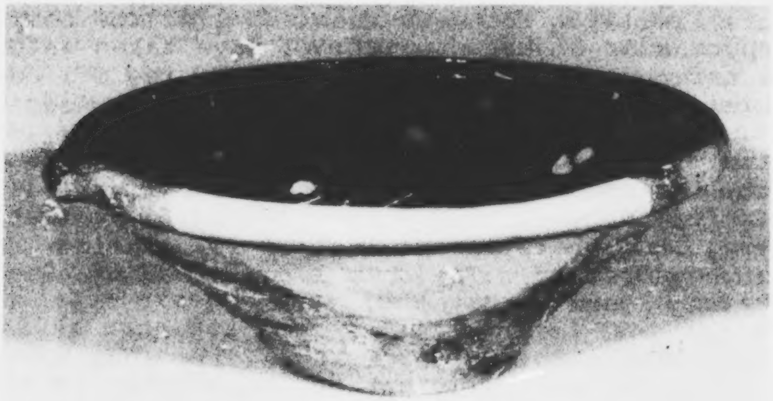


Figure 19. Coarse earthenware pan, used both for milk products and for food preparation.

house. All these utensils together were valued at between 25L and 233L. But these were two extreme figures and require interpretation (Table 7). Bélisle, the retiree, had more utensils than the others. Marchand, Godard, Bouvet and Duval owned some to the value of 100L or so, the comparable figures for Delorme and Joseph Aubry being about 50L and for Boisvert, Perrin and Jean Aubry, 30L or thereabouts.

There was a great variety of utensils used in the preparation of food in the workmen's dwellings: mortar and pestle to mash or grind, cheese molds, numbers of terrines usually used as milk pans (Fig. 19), strainers, funnels, fillers for blood sausage, sieves, pepper pots, tin measures and cleavers (Figs. 37, 38). Mortars, strainers and terrines were frequently found, the others much less so. Mortars were generally of cast iron, with one single reference to a brass one. They were no doubt manufactured on the spot; the 1741 inventory mentioned a mortar mold.

Cooking required fireplace or kitchen fittings and utensils appropriate to the various uses made of the open fire. Food could be cooked over the flame, over the glowing embers or from a point facing the fire. Among the fireplace fittings were pot-hangers, trivets and firedogs.

Pot-hangers and firedogs are rarely mentioned in the inventories examined and yet there is evidence that they have been in fact used for containers with handles and roasting spits are often listed. If no mention has been made of them it was simply because of their insignificant value. A mere chain and hook arrangement, could serve as a pot-hanger (Fig. 20).

There were various methods of cooking all dictated by the limitations of the open fire: directly over or near the

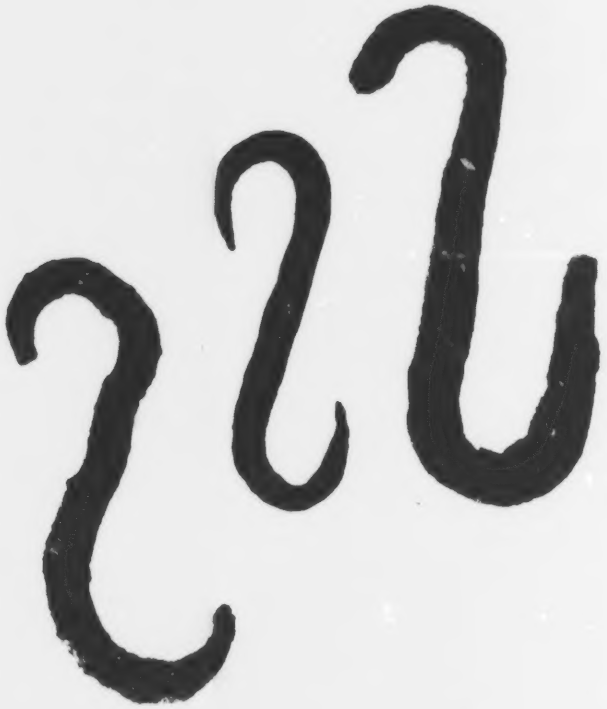


Figure 20. Pot-hangers.

flame, by immersion or by braising.

Using the first method the food was placed directly over the flame, on a gridiron or skewered on a spit. It was used in the home of all workmen, all of whom owned a gridiron, most with a spit and a dripping pan as well - the latter being generally used under the spit to collect the juice or the dripping fat from meat or poultry.

Cooking on an indirect flame required the use of various things such as frying pans, skillets, saucepans, crockery cooking pots, fish boilers, and apple-roasters these being placed on the trivet or in the fireplace. They were designed to reduce the amount of heat used for cooking by providing a screen between the flame or embers and the food. Workmen were most often provided with frying pans varying in number from one to three, a few brass skillets and a single saucepan. The Les Forges store had two frying pans for sale in 1741 and 20 pounds of copper skillets. Skillets were the only copper utensils used in the village. The company had, at one time, thought of casting iron skillets. The 1744 and 1746 inventories contain the following reference to molds:

model and cast-iron mold for saucepans (inv. 1746) wooden model two for saucepans with lids and five for saucepans without lids (inv. 1741). [Translation]

The third method of cooking was by immersion or boiling. This consisted of plunging food into water, possibly preheated. Various types of containers served the purpose: cooking pots, cauldrons, small cauldrons and kettles. These were suspended from the pot-hanger or laid directly on the hearth. It would seem that this was perhaps the most popular method, if only because of the number of containers used. At Les Forges we find only cooking pots and kettles, but there were generally several cooking pots of various sizes in every household (from one to seven). These were of cast-iron manufacture and there is little doubt that they were locally produced (Fig. 22). Les Forges inventory lists:

12 wooden molds with cast-iron lids for pots (inv. 1741) 31 models of cast-iron moulds for

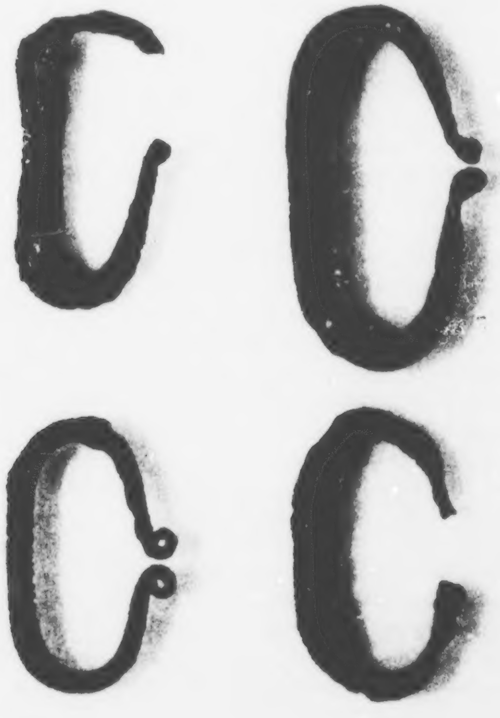


Figure 21. Fire steels.

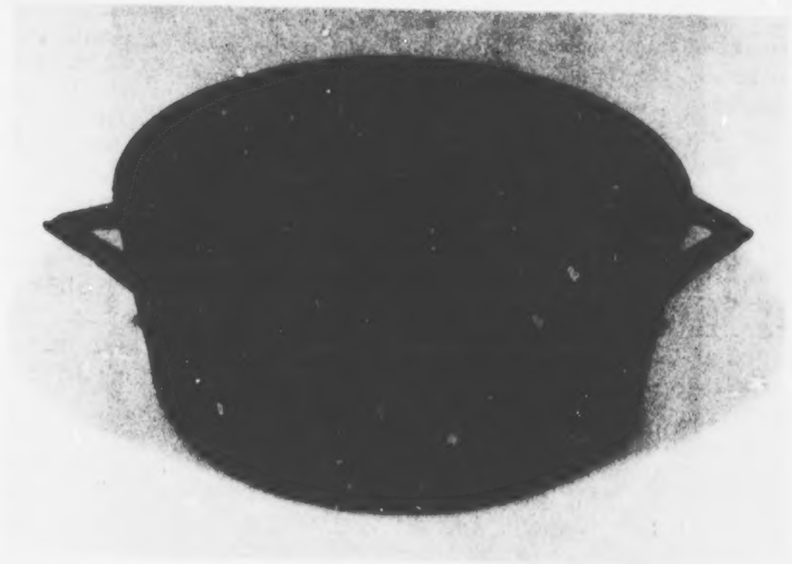


Figure 22. Cast-iron cooking pot with lid. No mark.

> pots, pie plates, kettles, saucepans, etc. (inv. 1746 and 1748). [Translation]

Kettles had any number of uses. In French times they served both to boil water and to cook some types of food. They were generally red copper or brass and could be obtained from the company store; a few were of cast iron. Kettle molds have in fact been recorded in inventories of Les Forges (5 in 1741) and a few in 1746 and 1748.

The fourth method, braising, required the use of braising pots, braising pans and dutch ovens. All these were fitted with a close-fitting lid with a raised rim so that hot embers could be spread over it. In this way heat could be applied from the top as well as from the bottom. This process was generally used to prepare braised meat. It was in current use at Les Forges. We have a record of six cast-iron braising pans (Delorme, Champagne, Godard and Bouvet inv.). These were made of brass as a rule but at Les Forges cast iron was preferred, obviously because these items were locally manufactured. References to braising pan molds appear in the 1741, 1746 and 1748 inventories.

The use of such containers necessitated access to a variety of utensils to stir, hold or serve the food or skim grease from the surface of broths. The most frequently used was a long-handled ladle, invariably kept near the cooking pot by the hearth. There were in addition a few large forks, skimmers and basting spoons.

Preparation and cooking of food involved of course acquiring, using and conserving liquids and above all water, needed in the kitchen as well for housekeeping and personal cleanliness. It was brought from the brook or the river in wooden buckets. In 1740 Cugnet asked for a well to be dug.

> it is absolutely essential that a well be dug this year opposite the entrance to the house (*La Grande Maison*) at a distance of sixty feet. This well should not cost more than 100L since it will probably not be necessary to go down more than 30 feet; if it proves necessary to go deeper, the cost will be proportionately higher. [Translation][57]

The plan, such as it was, was never carried out. We have no evidence of it in later documents nor from diggings on the site.

Water was boiled in kettles; few tea kettles were found in the houses at Les Forges, though Bélisle - and the exception proves the rule - did own a tea kettle. He was, too, the only person who owned a teapot. The fact is somewhat puzzling since we have no mention of tea or coffee, nor of any coffee pot or teapot (with the exception noted above) and only two references as to coffee cups (Godard and Bouvet inv.). The absence of tea kettles appears to imply that water was only heated in large quantity for everyday purposes and was taken from the kettle when the need arose.

Consumption of food. It would appear that family meals, with large numbers of people gathering around the table at regular hours was not a general habit during the 18th century. From travellers' tales or letters we get an impression of a great deal of disorganized activity at mealtimes. This was certainly the case in working-class homes. There was so much work to do at certain periods that little time could be spared for meals.

The Table. The table was set, with tablecloths spread "each place setting consists of a napkin, a spoon (pewter) and fork (of steel)" [translation].[58] Pocket knives, which one carried about one's person at all times, served as table knives (Figs. 39, 43, 44). There was no lack of table linen. The number of tablecloths varied between two and 16 and that of napkins between seven and 36. These were made of linen, generally of Beaufort linen, of linen of local manufacture or of rough hemp linen.

Plates and dishes were generally made of pewter. Inventories indicate that all workmen, almost without exception, used only pewter plates. The exceptions were Godard, Bouvert and Bélisle. The former owned 17 pewter plates and six of faience, the second a dozen of pewter and nine of faience (Fig. 23), the latter Bélisle, 18 of pewter and ten of stoneware (Fig. 24). In all cases there was more pewter than anything else.

When property was being appraised, pewter was generally

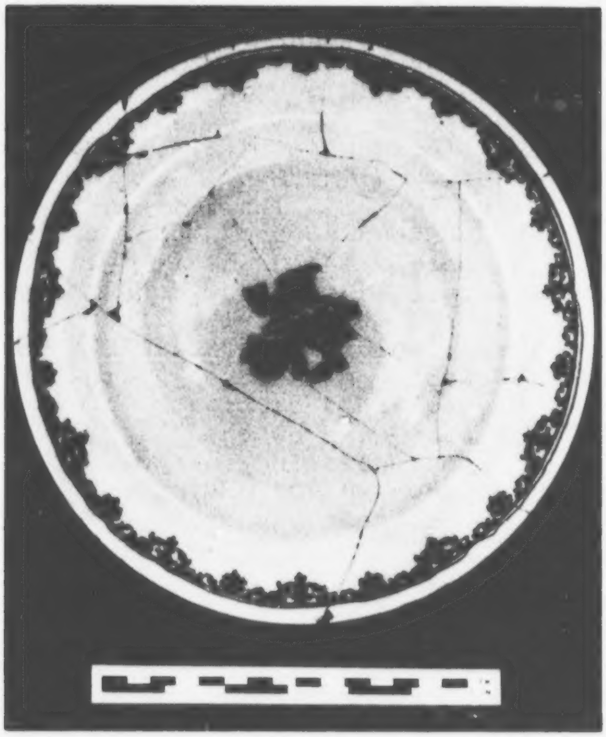


Figure 23. "Moustiers ware" plate in blue and white from a house below the plateau. French régime.

lumped together for the purpose, the total value being based on weight. This was the method followed in eight inventories. These lots generally included dishes, a few plates or basins, spoons or, on occasion, a porringer or a water jug.[59] All these plates or basins were used both for the preparation of food and for its consumption. They could be found on tables alongside tureens (only two of these are mentioned, in the Marchand and Bouvet inv.). Godard was better provided, with a bowl, faience plate and porringer, as well as with a pewter porringer with its cover.

It is obvious that there was little about all this tableware that could be called luxurious. There was little of it (except at Godard's or Bélisle's), no great variety of pieces (again excepting Godard's) nor of material from which it was manufactured. This was particularly true of drinking utensils, referred to in only seven inventories. There were one or two cups of tin or brass, at Marchand's, Champagne's and Jean Aubry's; four coffee cups with saucers at Godard's and Bouvet's; a pewter water jug and an earthenware tankard at Joseph Aubry's; seven glasses and three tumblers at

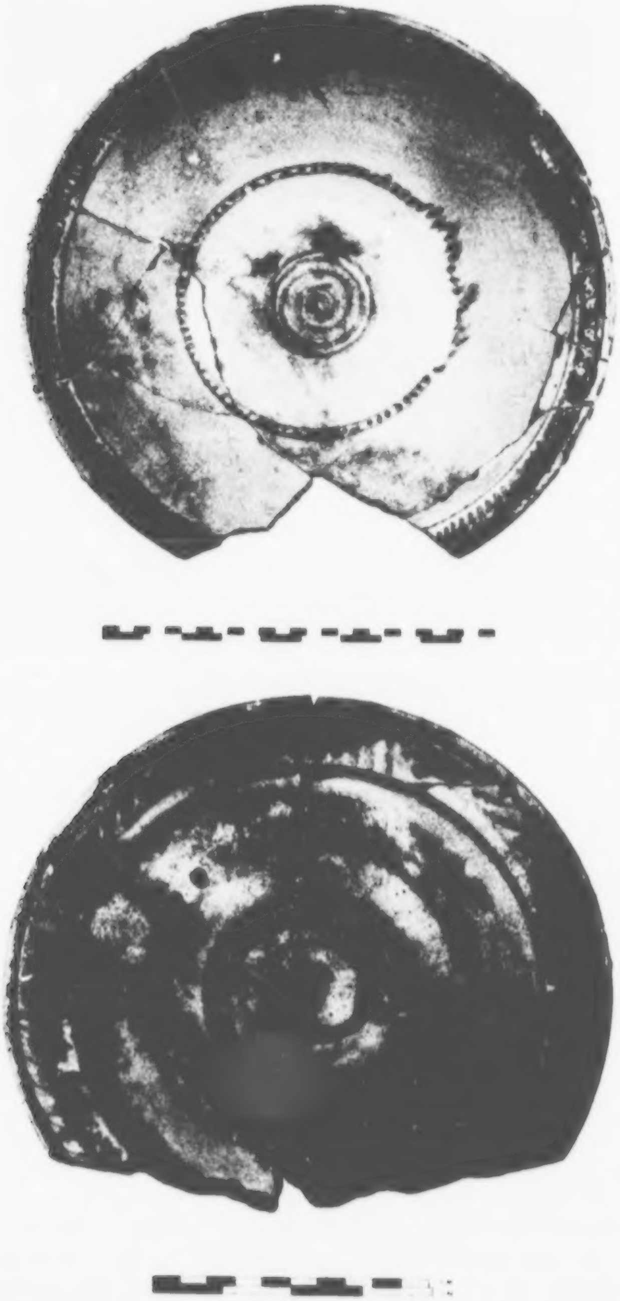


Figure 24. Red earthenware dishes, slip-decorated. These were part of the cargo of the vessel *Le Machault* recovered in the course of underwater explorations of the wreck at Restigouche. Similar dishes have also been found at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice. French régime.

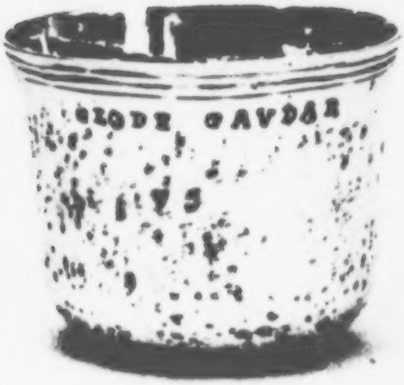


Figure 25. Silver tumbler inscribed "Clode Gaudar." It bears the hallmark of the Quebec silversmith Joseph Maillou: a fleur-de-lis, a star and the initials IM.

Bélisle's. There might also have been drinking mugs among the pewter lots. It should be pointed out that in those days one or two drinking utensils stood on the table, to be used by everyone present.

These drinking utensils could include silver cups or tumblers, though it would appear that they were not often used for drinking. They are listed under personal property rather than under kitchen utensils (Table 9).

Godard owned another silver cup, not mentioned in any inventory "silver cup marked François Godard given by him to his grandson as a mememto" [translation].[60] The Ursuline convent in Three Rivers has in its collection a tumbler with the name Clode Gaudar (Fig. 25). François Godard, who had a brother called Claude had a son of the same name. The tumbler, which must have belonged to one of the two, bore a hallmark: a fleur-de-lis with the initials IM (Joseph Maillou, a Quebec silversmith) and a star.[61]

That domestic silverware was found in workmen's homes should come as no surprise. There being no banking system silver was a sound investment, readily negotiable at all times. Indeed it was valued on the basis of weight - thence the listing of silver cups and tumblers under "personal property" rather than under "table utensils."

The various foodstuffs consumed at mealtimes have been discussed above. There were however seasonal variations in this respect as well as others based on religious observance.

Fare varied from season to season. Summer was the time to eat garden produce or what could be procured by wild berry picking or fishing. Fresh beef also appeared on the table at that time. In the fall the last fresh vegetables and fruit were eaten, supplemented by game or fish. The early days of winter was the time for slaughtering livestock. The meat so obtained was supplemented by what could be procured by hunting. There was fishing as well, for *le petit poisson*, a small species of salmon. What was left of stocks of food disappeared in the spring.

Table 9. Silverware in the possession of workmen

Name	Year of Inventory	Items	Value
Bouvet	1755	2 lbs, ¼ lb, ½ ounce in pieces	219L 4s
Delorme	1755	1 tumbler	18L
Duval	1750	1 cup	20L
Godard	1756	2 tumblers	48L
		1 small cup	22L
Marchand	1752	2 tumblers	32L
Perrin	1751	2 tumblers	50L

We have it on the authority of Vézin that although the families of Les Forges were large consumers of meat, religious obligations, as decreed by the Church calendar, were respected. There was a large number of fast or abstinence days or both. Fast had to be strictly observed and days of penance were numerous. To quote Marcel Trudel's study of New France:

> Fasting was austere: meat, eggs and dairy products were forbidden (the Catechism forbids eggs and dairy products during Lent, but it appears that the consumption of eggs, butter and cheese was tolerated from the early days of the colony), and only a single meal was permitted, at noon, with light snacks. Fast days were numerous: the 40 days of Lent, with the exception of Sundays (which were meatless), the vigils of 10 holy days, the Ember days, which alone included 12 fast days: for a total of some 57 fast days each year, or nearly two months.

> In addition to these days, which were meatless, there were others which were days of abstinence: the three Rogation Days, St. Mark's day and every Friday and Saturday. Thus, through fasting or abstinence, people went without meat for nearly five months of the year. [Translation][62]

Washing up. This was a chore that followed every meal; all utensils used to prepare, serve and consume food had to be washed. Water was drawn from the large pot of hot water laid on the hearth. Not too much water could be used at one time. The fact that it had to be brought from the brook or the river encouraged one not to waste it. So much was needed both for preparing food and washing oneself! Black sand of a type found in abundance in the Three Rivers area was used to scour pots, pans, and the like. It was peculiarly suited to removing soot and restoring the metal to its original brightness. The intendant Claude-Thomas Dupuy refers to this in his report on the general state of the colony of 20 October 1727:

> Another indication is the black sand of Three Rivers, which is found along the water's edge and is so common that it is used in the area to scour dishes, just as the fine sand of Estampes is used in Paris. [Translation][63]

Meals outside the house. Workmen toiling at the blast-furnace, at the forges or in the shops could have a light lunch at noontime in their own house. Of course this did not mean that they could not eat in their place of work, their meal being brought to them by their children. As for workers or day labourers in the woodlots or the mines, they would outfit themselves with supplies before leaving, though on occasion the company itself shipped supplies in to them. Evidence of this is provided by an expense account of Estèbe's day, recording the fact that a sum of 3L was owing to two "sauvages" for having carried "des vivres et des barres de mine aux carroyeurs."[64]

Conservation of food. One of the concerns of everyday life was the conservation of food before it was eaten, or between the time of preparation and that of consumption. The problem varied with the type of food involved. It had to be protected, for times varying from a few hours to several months, against spoiling due to heat or humidity.

As a rule food was kept in the buffet or the armoire. Salt pork was kept in a salting tub (Jean Aubry inv.). Bread and flour were stored in the hutch. Meat could be hung (Bouvet inv.). Such dry vegetables as beans and peas could easily be kept in sacks (Delorme, Boisvert and Duval inv.). Various kinds of food were stored in bottles, flasks, jugs and jars: wine, spirits, olive oil, vinegar, spices, jam, butter, etc. But according to our inventories workmen owned few of these: a few bottles, or an occasional jar or jug. Bélisle was an exception with seven bottles, six jars, two jugs and two bowls.

Work and Chores

Daily chores. Most domestic chores were performed by the wife. While the man worked at the blast-furnace, in the woodlot or on the road, a wide variety of tasks, large and small, fell to her lot.

The housewife's duties were multifarious. She had the entire responsibility for food, for the care and bringing up of young children, for looking after the house. Some of these were repetitive - keeping the fire in the hearth, fetching water, milking the cows, processing dairy products, feeding the hogs or chickens. Summer could be an even busier season if she looked after a garden or went berry picking. In addition, from time to time she had to bake bread, make candles, sew or look after linen and clothing.

Children helped out by performing little chores for their mother. Teenaged girls took on a large share of household duties, while their brothers generally followed in their father's footsteps. References to both father and son frequently appear in statements of operating expenses for Les Forges.

When the opportunity arose and they had some spare time the workmen did some household chores of their own, such as helping to care for livestock, transporting firewood, doing some carpentry (Delorme, Bouvet and Belisle inv.) or gardening (Boisvert, Perrin, Duval and Bélisle inv.).

A number of tasks referred to above have been described in the sections devoted to food. Others, such as those relating to the care of children hardly need to be discussed at length. Something should be said however about the making of linen or clothes, this requiring particular equipment and material.

Caring for linen and clothing. We should remind ourselves at this point of the considerable quantities of napkins, tablecloths, sheets and blankets owned by the various families in the inventories, in spite of their high price. All of these required maintenance as did clothing.

When laundry time arrived, tubs were filled with water, to which was added lye (Delorme, Boisvert and Bélisle inv.). These served for soaking, washing and rinsing. The clean wash was ironed with a flatiron preheated by the fire. Generally these came in twos or threes, so that while one was in use the other or others could be heated.

How often laundry was done is difficult to say. Such domestic activities are hardly the stuff from which great speeches are made nor do they attract much attention from writers or travellers. One may assume however that this was a twice yearly affair, once in the spring and again the fall, as was the case in 1890 on the Ile d'Orléans, at St-Pierre. To quote from Nora Dawson's monograph on this parish:

> It was an enormous job, a week of tribulation! It was done twice a year, in the fall and the spring. Just once a year would have meant too much material (linens), dish cloths, "rollers" (roller hand towels), tablecloths, sheets, fine linen shirts, in quantity. [Translation][65]

Making linen and clothes. The making of material hardly appears to have been a major activity of the housewives of Les Forges, if we note the infrequent mention of related equipment in available inventories. We do have one reference to cards (Marchand inc.), two to spinning wheels (Boisvert and Bélisle inv.) but none at all to looms. There would naturally appear to be no requirements for such things, there being no sheep raising nor growing of hemp in the place.

We can, however, assume that the workmen's wives did sew and knit. The 1741 inventory records a number of things used for the purpose as well as quantities of material.

70 petits étuis à eguille de carton
3 dés à coudre
9 L. [livres] 1/4 d'éguilles à tricotter
9 douzaines d'épingles
2 douzaines et 2 idem
8250 eguilles a coudre

Archaeological digs have produced a number of knitting and sewing needles (Fig. 46).

1 L. [livres] 1/4 de fil d'Epinay
1/2 L. idem
1 L. quatre onces idem
7 L. de fil de Rennes
9 L. 1/2 de fil de Poitou

As for Les Forges store it carried a considerable variety of material.

105 aunes 1/6 de satin
172 aunes 1/6 de crêpon
44 aunes 1/6 d'étamine
57 aunes 1/4 de camelot
54 aunes 3/4 de "ras" de maroc[66]
40 aunes 2/3 de "dauphine"
11 aunes 3/4 de "mignonette" (étamine de Toulouse)
6 aunes 1/3 de calemande[67]
74 aunes 1/4 de gaze
12 aunes 11/12 de taffetas

The list provides some details with regard to colours and design. The satin for instance, was in a narrow striped pattern, pink, green and white or yellow and white, or buff and white, or again in wide pink and green stripes or in a flowered pink, green and white design. Satin was mostly used for dresses, skirts, petticoats and short cloaks.[68] Worsted came mottled or striped, camlet was striped or red, "mignonette" black or in a gray flowered design, *calemande* black or striped. This material was used for skirts, petticoats, short cloaks, dresses, waistcoats, jackets or breeches. Black or grey taffeta and gauze, spotted, striped or in floral pattern were used for women's garments. The value of all these varied between 20 and 25s for an ell, except "satin sur fil" (which cost half the price of silk satin), and "ras du maroc," valued at between 2L and 2L 5s per ell.[69]

The company store also carried a considerable variety of such things as ribbons: green, white, yellow or blue; silver, white or striped trim; goat's hair buttons for coat and waistcoat, little white buttons, cuff buttons of stone or brass and brass buttons (Figs. 48, 49).

Man

Dress

From what we know of the components of material culture we may gain some knowledge of a number of aspects of the life of people of a certain day and age. In this respect manner of dress is a most rewarding subject for investigation. Not only do clothes protect against the cold, but they are indicative of the personality of the wearer, his social status, degree of wealth, activities and the nature of the human environment which is his.

This section is devoted to a discussion of the manner of dress of the inhabitants of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice. Obviously no attempt will be made to describe each garment in full. This would really entail an examination of the whole subject of fashion in France. Beyond this merely descriptive and particular aspect we shall be looking for a general description of the manner of dress of these people as constituting in itself a cultural trait through which it should be possible to improve our acquaintance with the wearer, his or her socio-economic status and milieu.

This has proved to be, in a very real sense, a thankless task. Documentary evidence on the subject is minimal. What will be advanced are theories rather than confirmed facts. While it was felt that post-mortem inventories would provide considerable information on the subject an examination of these documents has proved unrewarding. Of the 11 inventories available no more than five contain references to clothing, and then merely in passing. Reliance has had to be placed on fragmentary, scattered evidence in the form of marginal mention of the subject, to supplement such information as it had been possible to acquire up to that point.

Unlike furniture and objects in everyday domestic use which were deemed to be part of the jointly held estate, clothing was not (hence the frequency of omissions) and was automatically passed on to the offspring. Appraisal and the actual manner of transfer were very much left to the discretion of the heirs or guardian. In this respect there were considerable differences in practice.

At Les Forges, in most cases, the surviving spouse's or children's clothing was left to them, for their own personal use and so do not appear in the inventory. Those of the deceased were left to the children for future use.

> The said widow (of François De Nevers dit Boisvert) is left her bed and personal belongings for her own use under the terms of her marriage contract, together with the personal belongings of the said minors as mementos. [Translation][70]

The inventory of Les Forges prepared by Estèbe in 1741 provides some information on this point. It includes a list of goods offered for sale to the workmen and kept at *La Grande Maison*. Few items of clothing appear in these documents: headdresses, footwear and personal objects such as jewellery or accessories.

How did Les Forges workmen dress? The sieur Olivier de Vézin, ironmaster under Cugnet, is most emphatic on this point; workmen at Les Forges were well turned out to the point of luxury. Vézin returns to the matter twice, with some vehemence.

> Those who dress in fine caddis would wear but mazamet, pinchina or other even cheaper stuffs if they were not allowed advances and were required to buy their goods for cash.
> These workers, leading a life so different from that proper to their state and dressing with such luxury, indulge in expenditures which the wages of their trade and labour cannot support, and thus they become indebted to their masters and so discontented with their work ...[71]
> If those who go to the expense of dressing in fine cloth were to dress in ordinary mazamet as they do in France, and so forth, they would have money in their pockets and would work with courage and pleasure. [Translation][72]

That was Olivier de Vézin's view, but to be fair it might be well to look more clearly into the matter. This memorandum of his was directed against the operation of the company store under the supervision of those parties who had a stake in the firm. He was also opposed to payment in kind, something which had occasionally occurred under Cugnet. In other words, in his own defence, Olivier points an accusing finger at Cugnet. The latter is quick to reply:

> Sieur Simonnet brought all his workmen to Canada dressed in fine cloth and in hats trimmed with fine silver; he even obliged the Company to give them one trimmed hat a year in addition to their wages. This was one of the conditions of their employment; the shop, then, cannot be blamed for their introduction to luxury. It is encouraged far more by visits to town, where the merchants, in an effort to increase their own business, do everything to encourage their spending. They would not become indebted, and thus not exposed to any of the difficulties alleged by sieur Olivier if they were given the merchandise they requested only in proportion to what they were owed, and if they were not so readily permitted advances; this is an abuse which the former company attempted to correct during its administration, without success. [Translation][73]

The two agree on one point. Workmen bought too much, and lived beyond their means. Goods of all kinds were purchased. According to the 1741 inventory the store carried headdresses, footwear, textiles, linen, sewing needs, tobacco, tools, games and toilet articles. Olivier de Vézin himself provides some interesting details on the manner of dress of the workers. He would have us believe that they were magnificently arrayed, far better than their French counterparts. Rather than go about in fine cadis[74] or broadcloth, he would much prefer to have seen them turned out in mazamet[75] or pinchina.[76] To which Cugnet retorts that the store had nothing to do with this love of finery, as demonstrated by the promises made by Simonnet to his employees. In any event, though Vézin might find the workmen somewhat too finely turned out, the fact is that this was general throughout the colony. It has been noted by some travellers, d'Alayrac for instance, and Peter Kalm.

> Luxury here is pushed to the extreme. Even peasant women wear silk dressing gowns and blouses, lace caps and damask slippers, and thus become insatiable in their desires. [Translation][77]
>
> On at-home days, they (Canadian women) dress with such magnificence that one might almost believe them to be members of the noblest families of the State. The French, who are far

> more realistic, are seriously alarmed by the extravagant love of fine dress which governs so many of the ladies of Canada, leads them to abandon any idea of saving for future needs, and causes fortunes to be wasted and families ruined. [Translation][78]

The same love of finery was found in the management, other things being equal. The inventory drawn up at the death of the widow of Jacques Simonnet lists a very fine wardrobe indeed. The fact is, of course, that she was of an upper class family and had a fortune of her own.

Finally, even among Frenchmen in rural areas, a small scale revolution had occurred between 1700 and 1750, with an increase in the number of items of dress as well as diversification of materials and colours.[79]

Men's fashions. For information on the manner of dress of the workmen let us turn to such documentary evidence as is available on Les Forges du Saint-Maurice. The search is not particularly rewarding. Out of the 11 post-mortem inventories which have come down to us, only three contain references to men's clothing. In the case of Godard and Perrin only a few items are listed. However, the Duval inventory, fortunately does provide what appears to be a fairly complete list. More information is supplied by an account of goods formerly in the possession of the widow Champagne and subsequently sold. This does give some idea of the nature of the foreman's wardrobe (App. G).

It should be pointed out immediately that available manuscripts are hardly enlightening on the subject of everyday dress. For appraisal purpose, understandably, Sunday clothing is of more interest to someone drawing up an inventory, for they are of course more valuable.

In those days fashion required men to wear a waistcoat, a jacket or coat and knee breeches, sometimes of matching material. These could however be worn in any combination desired. This three-piece suit was found all over New France. At Les Forges it appeared more particularly in the wardrobe of the skilled tradesmen (Delorme, Marchand, Champagne inv.). With the suit one usually wore a fine linen shirt, such as those of Champagne (four fine shirts, three grass-bleached linen ones). Ordinary coats appeared to belong only to those who could afford them. Jackets and breeches were worn by everyone. Perrin, for example owned a jacket and three old pairs of breeches. For his part Duval had a jacket and a waistcoat "drap de soldat," an additional old jacket, an old waistcoat and two pairs of sheepskin breeches.

The waistcoat was generally of some handwoven material, lined or not, with or without sleeves. Breeches were made of rough woolen stuff or leather, more or less matching the coat. The plain shirts were made of coarse linen. Finally, came woolen stockings and leather shoes with cheap metal buckles or, alternatively, clogs. To all this was most probably added a leather apron for work at the blast-furnace, the forges or the shops.

Few references to headdress appear in notarized documents though contemporary material does mention such items in other parts of Canada, at Louisbourg, in particular. As Monique Lagrenade points out in her study of dress at Louisbourg:

> Headwear is as common among men as among women. However, masculine headgear covers a wider range of styles. Caps and bonnets are worn at night, and during the day as well ... bonnets are popular in all circles; humble craftsmen wear them when they work, and gentlemen replace them with wigs when they go out ... The latter also have hairsacks ... In addition, men wear broad-brimmed hats, of ordinary felt or beaver felt, depending on their means. [Translation][80]

The only references to headware found in my own material are to a woolen hat belonging to Perrin and to five caps of cotton and two of wool belonging to Champagne. In addition Champagne could sport an elegant hairsack, a sign of the superior social standing which was his by virtue of his responsibilities as a foreman. We also know that, on their arrival in Canada, workmen were well provided with headdresses.

> Sieur Simonnet brought all his workmen to Canada dressed in fine cloth and in hats trimmed with fine silver. [Translation][81]

The workman would wear fine leather shoes, the popular cowhide shoes of the time or clogs. At one time the company store had carried pumps of local manufacture. This was a sore point with Vézin, through whose complaints the fact has been drawn to our attention:

> If the partners provide anything for Les Forges, they do so at prices well above those to be had elsewhere; ... As, for example, thirty pairs of locally made pumps, costing 50s a pair, were sent by sieur Gamelin on March 13, 1739 at 4L 10s a pair, according to his account, which the said sieur Olivier was obliged to distribute at his own expense to the workmen at Les Forges the same year, for want of money to give them to buy others, which they needed. [Translation][82]

The store had a considerable quantity of clogs for sale in 1741: 82 large, 12 medium and small. But there are few references to this cheap and strong type of footwear in available records, a fact also characteristic of similar French inventories of the time.[83]

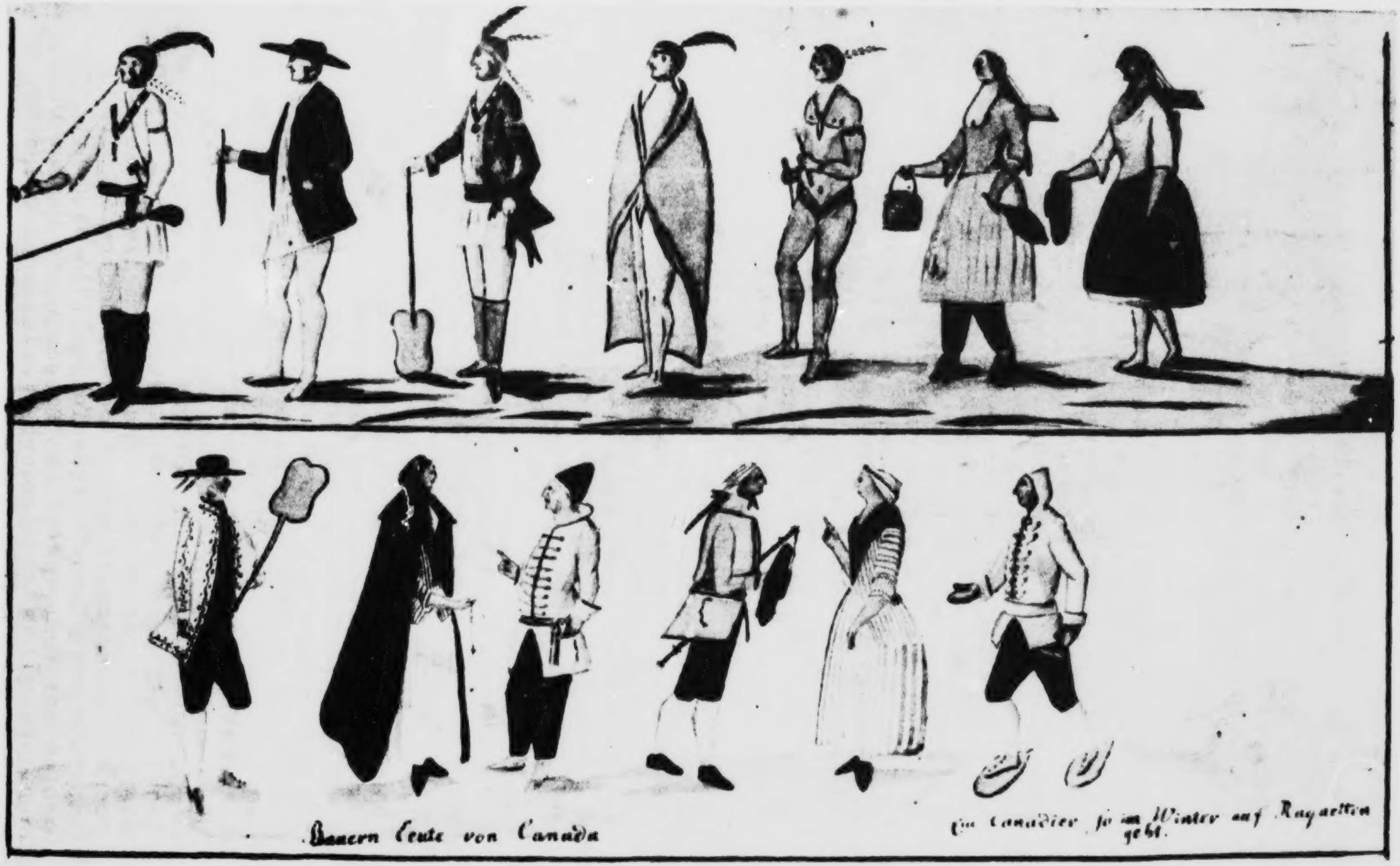

Bauern Leute von Canada
Ein Canadier so im Winter auf Raquetten geht.

Figure 26. Canadian clothing. An unsigned drawing sent by a German immigrant to a Bavarian court - ca. 1780.

Workmen could wear an overcoat against the cold or, like Champagne, an elegant frock coat. A woolen cap or tuque was the most popular form of headdress. Les Forges stocked mittens and gloves in some quantity. In 1741, it had for sale, among others, seven dozen pairs of Niort gloves, 11 pairs of Vendome gloves and one pair of woolen gloves.

Women's Fashions. Less is known of women's fashions than of the clothes worn by workmen. Clothing was left to the widow as her personal property or passed on to the children. In this respect however two exceptions can be noted, from which some information may be secured. We do know a little about the clothes worn by Antoinette Guesny, widow of Julien Duval and of Marie-Anne Messier, wife of Louis Chèvrefils dit Bélisle (App. H).

The impression gained from an examination of this material is that woman's attire was of the simplest, an undershirt, occasionally a bodice, a skirt and a petticoat, a bonnet, and a neckerchief. When she did wear a dress it was "in the French fashion" with the skirt opening in front to show the petticoat. Over this when leaving home, she wore a short cloak, a cape or a mantle. This was a simple and practical form of attire, as described by a contemporary, Peter Kalm, in 1748:

> All the women in the country, without exception, wear bonnets. Their dress consists of a short cloak over a short petticoat, which comes down barely to the middle of the leg. [Translation][84]

The bonnet or coif was generally made of plain linen, though the company store, in 1741, did have five gauze bonnets on sale. The shirt was plain linen, sometimes of local manufacture, the sleeves rolled up to the elbow. Both skirt and petticoat were pleated and, as we have just seen, were worn short, half way down the leg. They were made of *calemande*, drugget, plush, *carisé*[85] (rough serge) or of locally woven linen. We find no mention of bodices nor of aprons though these were widely worn at the time. As for mantelets or short cloaks, they were made of *calemande* or printed calico. With these were worn woolen or, on occasion, silk stockings, fine leather shoes, or wooden clogs. Constant attempts are being made to confirm the use of the latter. They were undoubtedly worn, however, as the Swedish traveller Peter Kalm had noted:

> The country people, particularly the women, wear one-piece wooden shoes, hollowed out in the shape of slippers. [Translation][86]

Peter Kalm observed that Canadian women were invariably well groomed "hair curled and powdered, decorated with sparkling pins and plumes" [translation].[87] No doubt this fashion was followed at Les Forges where plumes were offered for sale. To add a touch of elegance some women

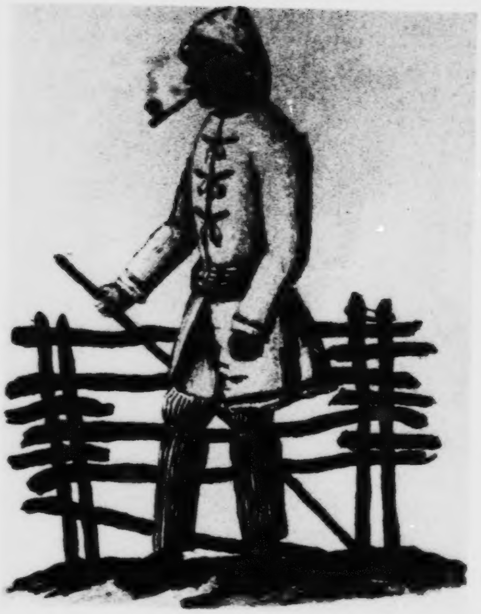


Figure 27. Habitant, ca. 1777

wore jewellery: a ring, a brooch, a silver cross (Duval inv.) or a small yellow pearl necklace (there were 33 of these in the store). Other ladies, as the fashion of the day decreed, owned fans. There were 14 of these in stock at the store, 11 plain ones and three with ivory shafts.

An 18th century drawing gives some idea of this attire. It shows a Canadian woman wearing garments similar to those referred to in the source material available (Fig. 30).

Children's fashions. Though children's garments are generally assumed to have been their own personal property, they do occasionally appear in inventories. The exception to the general rule can be explained by the fact that the garments of a deceased or grown-up child automatically reverted to the parents, as in the case of the child of the foreman, Champagne. Obviously a new-born baby required any number of items of dress and linen. The description of the widow Champagne's effects contains considerable detail in this respect.

One child's trousseau consisting of eight shirts of grass-bleached linen	44L
9 child's vests	9L
11 lace bonnets (caps)	11L
3 undervests	3L88

[Translation]

Clearly that particular child must have been unusually well looked after, considering the quality of the layette. But other children were no less comfortable considering the

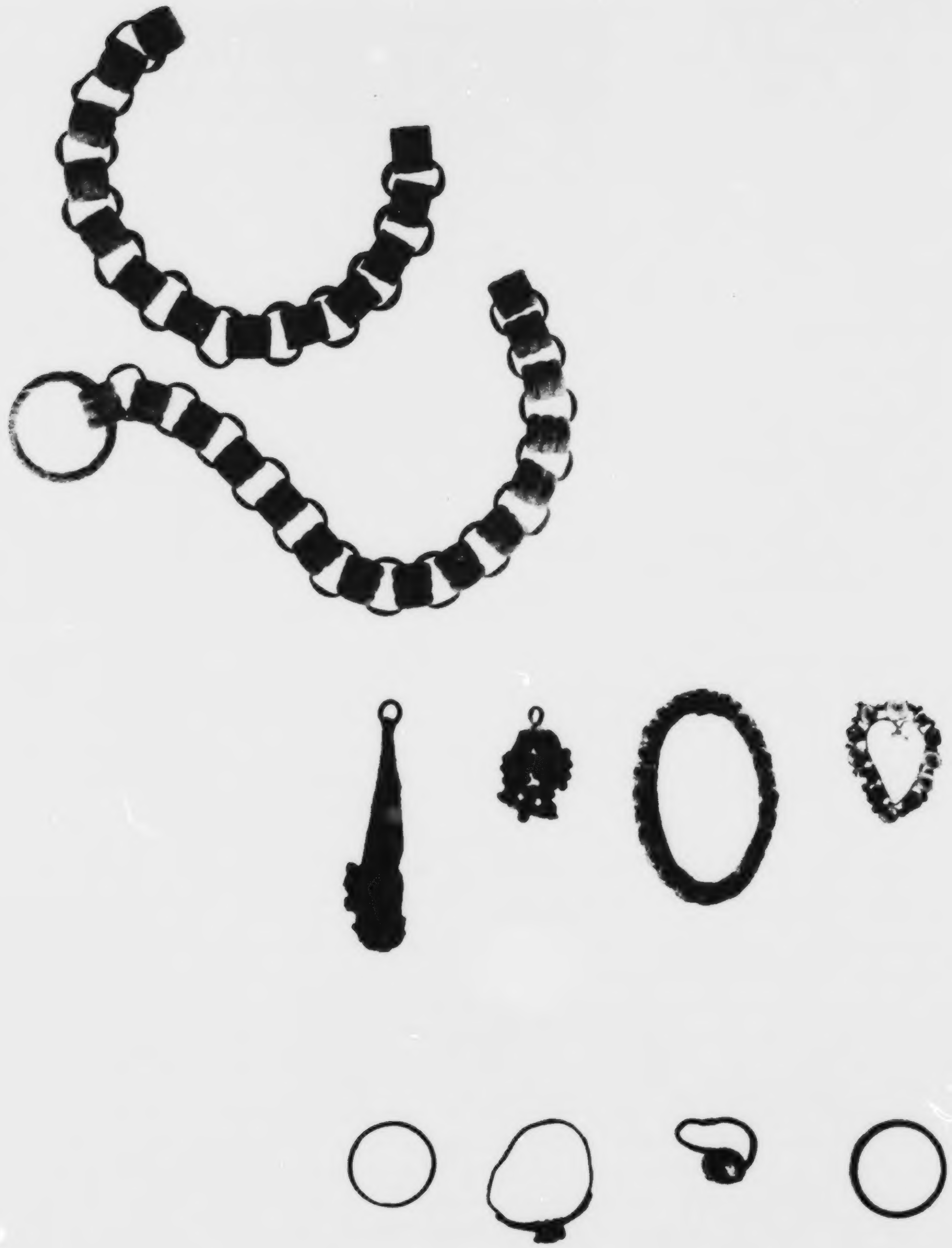


Figure 28. Dress accessories of inhabitants of Les Forges. The jewellery consists of earrings, brooches, rings and parts of a bracelet or necklace.

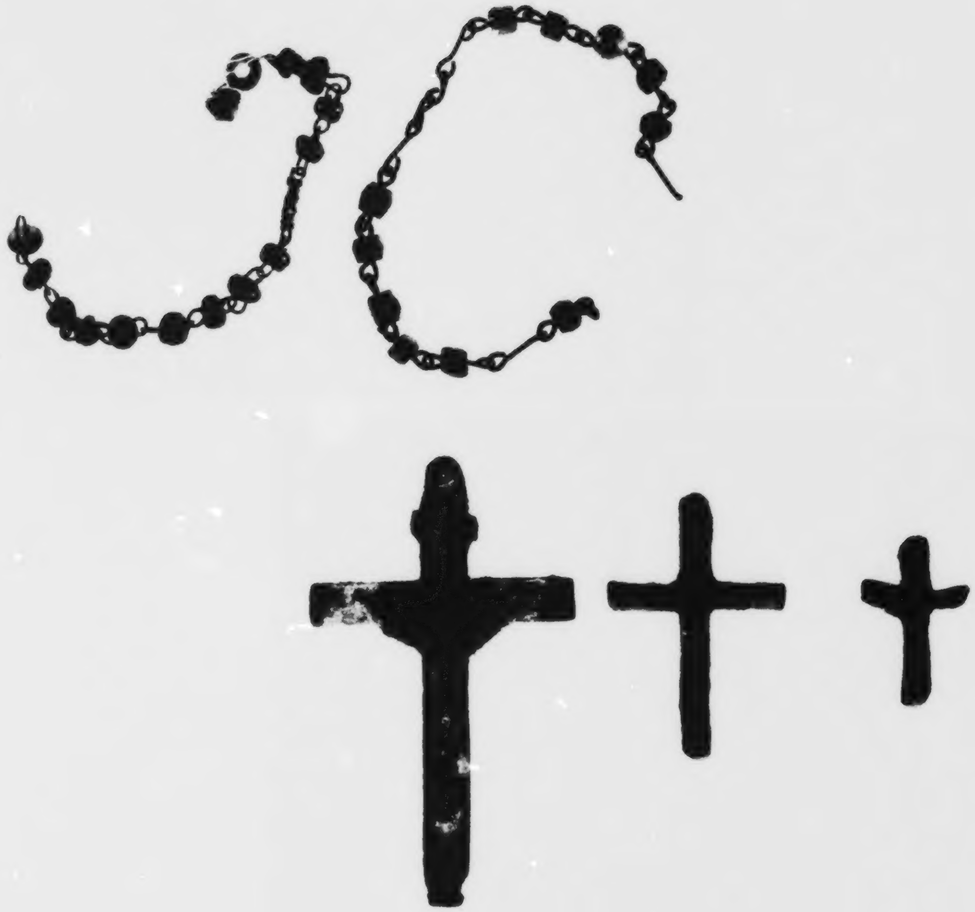


Figure 29. Religious objects: cross of pendant or rosary, rosary beads.

number of bibs, swaddling clothes and undervests. As for the cradle or crib it was provided with smaller sheets and blankets.

As the child grew older he wore a shirt and dress. This was the rule for both sexes.[89] Perhaps with her child in mind the widow Champagne has already put together a trousseau composed of a number of small dresses, two of *mazamet* and one of cotton as well as one small pair of shoes. At six, little boys were dressed in knee breeches and little girls in a shirt and skirt, just like their parents. In France - if we are to go by the example of that country - "pendant une grande partie du XVIII^{e} siècle, le costume des enfants demeure la réduction de celui des parents."[90]

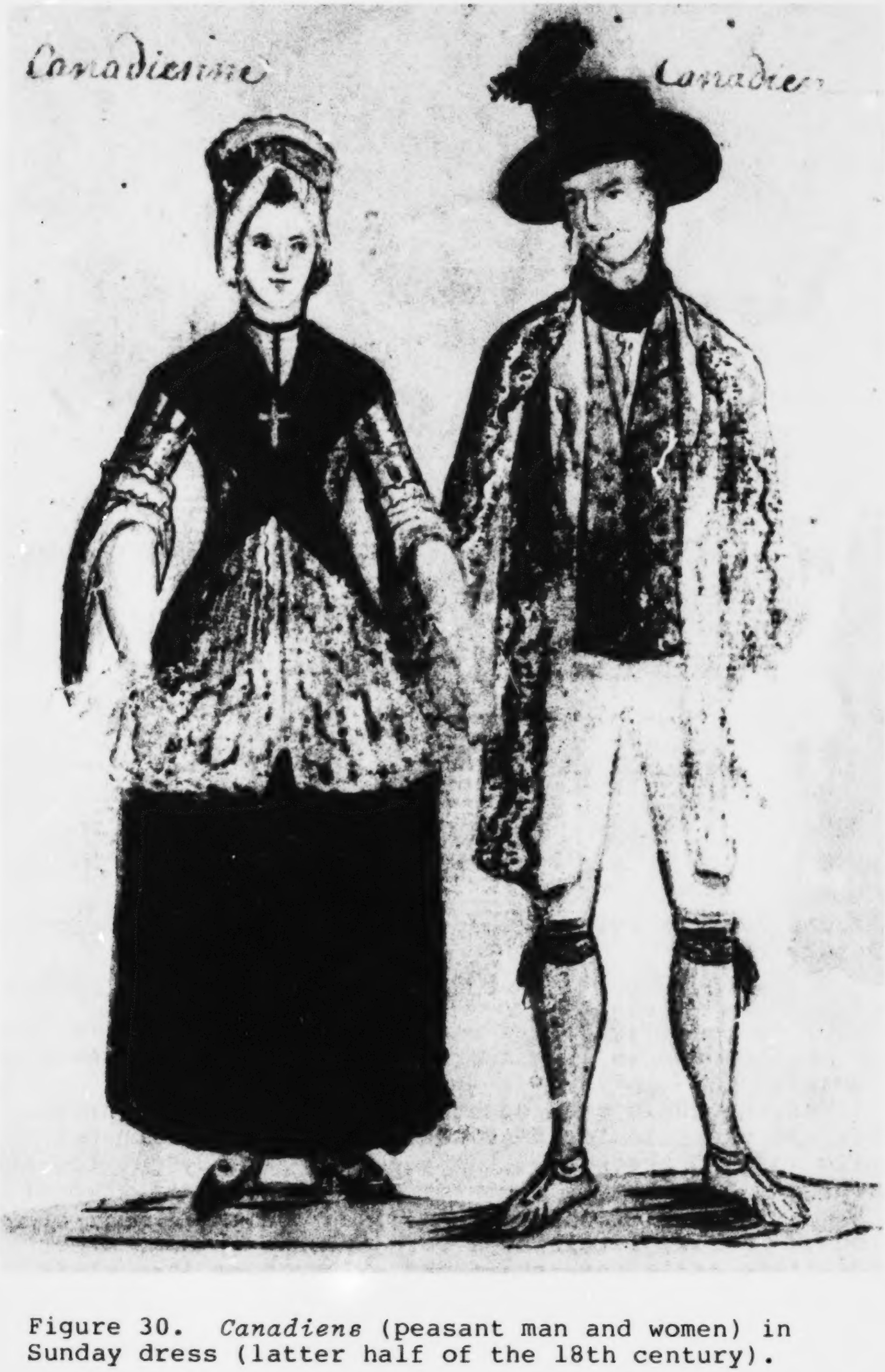

Canadienne
Canadien

Figure 30. *Canadiens* (peasant man and women) in Sunday dress (latter half of the 18th century).

Hygiene

From dress we very naturally turn to matters of hygiene. While toilet articles were deemed to be personal effects some few mentions of these appear in inventories: mirrors, razors, cases with razors and whetstones, locally manufactured soap (Delorme, Bélisle and Boisvert inv.). These objects in general current use, along with combs, were on sale to the workmen at the company store: 12 fine-tooth combs, six wooden combs, five horn-handled razors, 11 red leather-covered razors as well as one small mirror with a lacquered or varnished frame.

The difficulties associated with the supply of water - it had to be brought from the river or the brook - as well as its multifarious other uses, drinking, cooking or watering animals - suggest that personal cleanliness was at best a cursory affair, scarcely going beyond wetting the face and hands and drying them with a linen towel. But of course notions of hygiene and property were then very much those of the time, such as they were.

Ill-informed as we are as to the frequency of laundry days as well as about workmen's garments, it is difficult to speak with any authority on the cleanliness of clothing. There might be some significance in the fact that large numbers of undershirts were used - 14 for instance, in the case of Bélisle. Undershirts, of course, had to be changed oftener than any other article of clothing, only because they absorbed perspiration more than any other, at work or otherwise.

Illness

Very little is known about the general state of health of the workmen. There is no documentary evidence whatever on health itself, save a few references to one's desire to maintain it. We could quote in this regard three statements on the operations of the ironworks - in 1741 and 1742 under "expenses" are listed the costs involved in retaining the services of the surgeon Alavoine, of Three Rivers:

> To a surgeon to serve the house, with permission to receive payment from workmen employed at Les Forges, remedies being provided 150L
> [Translation][91]

However, in the annual accounts of Les Forges, an entry made on 24 October 1740, indicates an increase to 300L.[92]

> Statement of sums paid for insolvent patients employed at Les Forges, payment entered on the books but not to be settled, in accordance with the orders (Estèbe) given to me on March 8 last (1742)

> To wit
>
> September 12, 1742, paid for J.B. Dupuis, invalid, for the balance of 159 days of illness, as follows

received and not remitted	68L
paid for one La Bonne idem	23L 15s
	91L 15s

> [Translation]

Midwives delivered babies. Some information on this point is provided by the record of criminal proceedings involving one Jean-Baptiste Brissard, a soldier in M. Cournoyer's company, charged with the murder of Beaupré, a carpenter. On that occasion Marguerite Beaulac of Three Rivers, had testified that:

> Monday last, having proceeded to the house of the said Beaupré for the purpose of swaddling the child of the said Beaupré's wife, whom she had delivered several days previously ... [Translation][94]

Still it is clear that on more than one occasion treatment and medication were either not administered at all or dispensed at no charge to the patient using mysteriously concocted herbs, oils, or broths.

Recreation

Forms of recreation were certainly many and varied. It is just as difficult to know all about them as to become acquainted with the particular way of life of each and every individual. Personal taste and talents were the governing factors.

It would appear from our sources that the most common form of recreation at the forges was drinking. This was characteristic of these "men of the iron" who turned to alcohol on the slightest pretext; a hard day's work, the heat, work well done, a business transaction, a feast day. This propensity to drink led to excess and to complaints from the ironmaster as well as from the administrators. The master, Olivier de Vézin, claimed that there was as much drinking on weekdays as on Sundays. But according to the Intendant Hocquart he who complained was also he who traded in drink.

> ... he (Estèbe) shall discontinue the special allotments of wine and spirits which sieur Olivier was accustomed to distribute to the workmen on every occasion. This is an abuse and a useless expenditure which must be eliminated. However, if the workmen perform their duties well, he may occasionally provide them with the means of enjoying themselves. The important point is that they be kept in complete

> subordination ... [Translation][95]

Paternalism was the watchword of the times. If alcohol was sold at the ironworks it was to prevent the workmen from journeying to Three Rivers to indulge their immoderate taste for drink with its attendant consequences.[96] Goods and wine were distributed as bonuses on the feast of St. Eloi (December 1st), on the occasion of the arrival of sieur Estêbe, the King's *sub-délégué* for the Crown company that operated the ironworks, as a reward for work well done or performed in addition to normal tasks.

For bonuses to forgemen and stokers in wine or money	300L[97]
5 jugs of wine for furnace masons, fillers and furnace keepers	5L[98]

[Translation]

Overindulgence would be punished, however:

> The disorders created by drunkenness on the part of the smiths must be prevented. He (Estêbe) shall punish those responsible for such disorders by means of fines and even by imprisonment and if he feels that some ordinance on this matter is required, he shall issue and publish any such ordinance as he shall deem appropriate. [Translation][99]

The severity of the punishment can be explained in part by the scarcity of skilled workmen. The administrators were concerned with preventing abuse. This was particularly true of Hocquart, as can be seen from his instructions to Estêbe, in the event drunkeness led to brawling and violence. And not only did the workers consume alcohol, but they traded in it as well. Indeed, in 1740, they kept a public house. Thence a further ordinance:

> Ordinance of January 10, 1740 forbidding the keeping of a public house at Les Forges. Inasmuch as the workmen employed at Les Forges do keep a public house and sell wines and spirits, thus giving rise to disorders, and likewise in order to prevent trade in spirits with the savages, it is forbidden to sell spirits and rum to any person whatsoever on pain of a fine of 100L for the first offence and corporal punishment thereafter.
> [Translation][100]

But even if that public house did disappear this did not prevent the workmen from travelling to Pointe-du-Lac, to one kept by Angélique Bellefleur, wife of Louis Allegrain. This type of trade was to continue until 1750, though, in fact, abuses appear to have become less serious as evidenced by the rather less severe character of the penalties prescribed.

> Ordinance of 11 August 1750, again forbidding all trade in goods or spirits at Les Forges,

> such trade being prejudicial to sieur Estebe, who has exclusive permission for such activities. In addition, such trade causes disorder at Les Forges. Forbidden on pain of a fine of 50L, payable to the Hôtel-Dieu of Three Rivers. [Translation][101]

The reason for noise and disorder can be determined readily enough. But the same cannot be said of the use of tobacco. We have evidence of its use through the sale of 67 horn snuff boxes and supplies of locally produced tobacco at the company stores as well as by the discovery of clay pipes in the archaeological excavations.

Playing cards must also have been a form of recreation practised on feast days or in the evening. The store had 11 used packs available for that purpose. And there was also dancing to music, though the nature of the instruments remains uncertain. A fiddle? Or a Jew's harp? A number of the latter have been dug up. Should a fiddle string break, it could always be replaced at the company store where they were sold in packs - nine in all.

It is no easier to describe the way in which workmen spent their evenings than that in which they occupied their time on feast days. This was very much a matter of individual taste. Visits were exchanged for the pleasure of a drink, a chat, a pipe or a reading. These facts have come to light through the questioning of a witness to a particular incident.[102]

Feast days - Sundays especially - were unlike other days. After mass there was little enough to do, save a few domestic chores and looking after the livestock. There were, however, two particularly outstanding holidays, the feast of St. Eloi (December 1st), and the feast of St. Thibault (July 8th). Evidence of this is provided by an ordinance from Bishop Pontbriand of 1 July 1755, which, when examined, throws some light on the way in which the workmen celebrated these feast days spiritually and otherwise:

> Having been informed that high mass and vespers are sung in this parish and the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament given on the feasts of St. Eloi, the Translation and St. Thibault, because the smiths have chosen the first two days to honour their patron saint and the stokers the third; and that it has happened that, under the pretext of celebrating and, as it were, solemnizing them, some of the residents of the village have indulged in scandalous excesses, rather than sanctifying these days, we instruct the missionary to warn the people of the parish that if hereafter we learn that the same disorders have occurred, we shall forbid all special ceremonies on these days. We instruct the said missionary to inform us every

> year whether any scandals have taken place. This text to be read and published with the announcements at high mass Sunday next. [Translation][103]

That these days were the occasion for festivities of the kind described should come as no surprise, given the bonuses distributed to the workmen. The feast of St. Eloi, by the way, retained considerable prominence as a guild celebration in Champagne (several forgemen of the ironworks were from that province) up to our own century.[104] The celebration lasted one whole day. First came a procession, then mass, then a meal, followed by various forms of recreation: dancing, singing and games.

Religion

Religious practice at the ironworks was part of the official side of operations. We have seen that at the very outset the company was concerned with providing its employees with the services of a missionary as well as with a properly equipped chapel. The partnership agreement of February 11 made provisions for this:

> A missionary shall be maintained at St. Maurice, to hold divine service in the chapel which is to be built to this end, and to administer the sacraments to the workmen, journeymen and other residents of the said place. The missionary to be provided with board, lodging and heating at the Company's expense, with a stipend of 200L. This article has been and continues to be executed with respect to the missionary. The chapel has not been built. Mass is said in an area of the house reserved for this purpose until the Company is in a position to have a chapel built. [Translation][105]

These conditions were to be respected throughout the life of the operations. The remuneration of the missionary was a charge upon the company's budget and is so recorded in its accounts.[106] He was provided with a bedroom, a chapel, vestments and liturgical ornaments. In addition linen was washed by the Ursulines in Three Rivers at company expense. The silversmith St.-Paul was employed to repair the chalice.[107] The missionary's personal needs were also looked after. Father Augustin was offered shoes and stockings[108] in 1741 and again in 1743. These were also prescribed on the occasion of the publication of ordinances with fines to be paid into the chapel treasury.[109] But what of religious practice? Attendance at Sunday mass was high. A memorandum of 1742 recommended the erection of a proper chapel. The chapel in *La Grande Maison* held no more than a dozen people and the others, a hundred or so, were

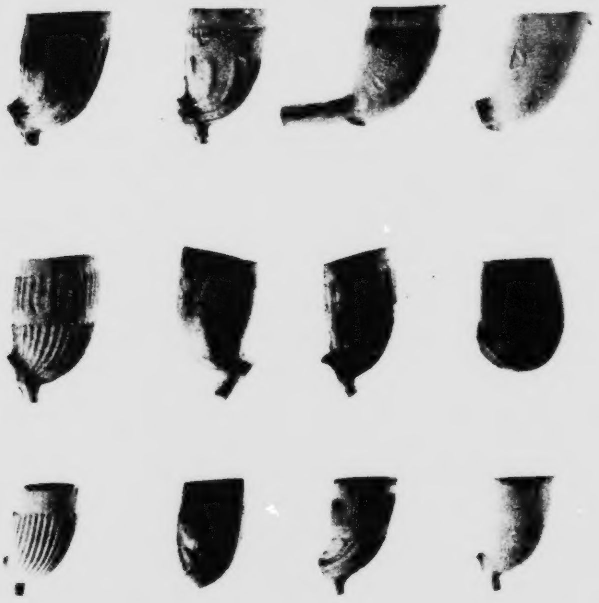


Figure 31. Pipe bowls from various periods of the operating life of ironworks, mostly from the first half of the 19th century.

forced to remain standing in the hall.[110] The chapel was also used for christenings, weddings or funerals, though people did go to Three Rivers for such purposes, as the parish registers indicate. It is also interesting to note that on occasion the missionary would be asked to celebrate mass for the success of the operations of the ironworks, for example, on 2 July 1743, management paid Father Augustin one mass "pour la réussite du fourneau" (15*s*).[111]

We have little or no information on individual religious practice. Peter Kalm notes a peculiar custom of Canadians:

> The French do not say grace either before or after meals, although they all make the sign of the cross. [Translation][112]

We have no record of any crucifix or religious pictures in the houses. Nevertheless the company store did have five pairs of prayer books for sale (1741 inv.).

MONOGRAPHS OF WORKERS

We have just reviewed in a general way how masters and workmen lived at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice during the French régime. An attempt has been made to indicate, in broad outline, their way of living. Still it might be well to peek behind closed doors, as it were, to gain a better understanding of the reality of the living conditions of these people. The task is made possible on the basis of post-mortem inventories describing the contents of their dwellings, as found *in situ*.

This chapter, then, contains five such monographs dealing with the families of a forgeman, a stoker, a master collier (on contract), a day labourer and a collier. Heads of families in these cases are tradesmen, of different ages and social standing.

All monographs are in three parts. The first provides historical background, the second deals with their way of life and the third with livelihood. Biographical notes are provided as an introduction, followed by a description of the domestic life setting (with all the furnishings and equipment of the house and effects of its occupants). Finally the means of support of the family are dealt with, with a statement of active or passive indebtedness and detailed information on the professional and financial position of the couple.

Pierre Marchand, *Marteleur* (Forgeman)

History

Birth. Pierre Marchand, son of Valentine Marchand and Claudine Albrant, was born ca. 1715.[1] He came from the parish of Pierjus, diocese of Besançon, in Franche-Comté.[2]

Employment. Arriving at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice in 1738 he was originally employed as a stoker at the upper forge.[3] The following year he became a forgeman.

Marriages. On 13 November 1740, in Three Rivers, Pierre Marchand married Marie-Charlotte Sauvage, daughter of the late François Sauvage, in his lifetime a sergeant in the marine corps, and of Marie-Françoise Muette de Moras, aged 19.[5] Marie-Charlotte was the sister of Charlotte-Monique, wife of Jean-Baptiste Delorme (Deslauriers), a founder at the ironworks.[6]

In 1748 Marie-Charlotte died at the age of 26.[7] On May 8th Pierre Marchand remarried in Batiscan, his second wife being Gertrude Frigon, 27.[8] She was the daughter of François Frigon and Justine Perrault. Her sister Louise was to marry Jean-Baptiste Delorme (1751), then a widower.[9]

We have no information on Pierre Marchand's first marriage contract. I have however been able to find the second wherein it is stipulated that the sole contribution of the husband was to consist of those goods and chattels retained by him from the property originally held jointly by him and his first wife, the late Marie Sauvage. In addition Pierre Marchand did bestow on his second wife, Gertrude Frigon, a dowry of 1000L, the spouses reserving a *préciput* (inheritance stipulated in the marriage contract in favour of the surviving spouse) of 300L. This dowry, being the total value of Marchand's property and personal effects, was considerable for a workman of the period. Gertrude Frigon died in 1768[10] aged around 40 or 50.

Descendants. There were four children by the first marriage of Pierre Marchand with Marie-Charlotte Sauvage. The eldest was a daughter, christened Marie-Madeleine, born in 1741, then another, Marie-Antonine, also known as Antoinette, in 1743, then a first son, Jean-Pierre, born in 1744 and finally Antoine, in 1747.[11]

Marie-Madeleine, then aged 21, was married on 16 August 1762 to Jean Sicard de Carufel, son of the sieur Sicard de Carufel, and of Angélique Lupin, residing in Maskinongé.[12] The spouse bestowed upon his future wife a dowry of 600L. Antoinette, following her sister's example, married (26 June 1764)[13] Amable Sicard de Carufel, Jean's brother, the dowry in this case being 600L and the spouses' *préciput* 300L. As for Jean-Pierre he was apprenticed by his father on 22 August 1762[14] to Pierre-Joseph Rouet, locksmith, of Three Rivers. Jean-Pierre, then 18, began his two-year term of indenture on 1 September 1762, Pierre-Joseph Rouet undertaking, by contract, to teach him his trade and to board him at his own table. He was not however required to give him lodging nor to provide for his necessities, a departure from the standard practice of the age in such matters. In lieu of such provisions for the necessities of life Rouet was to allow him to engage in work for his own benefit at such times of the day as he was not otherwise employed, the iron for this purpose being provided by Marchand himself. This was a very original and unusual clause in a contract of this type. It suggests that Pierre Marchand must have continued to look after his son, evidence that this skilled tradesman had been able to achieve some degree of affluence as well as of the fact that he was most concerned with his son's progress and anxious to provide him with the means to practice the trade he was learning. Antoine, the second son, was to follow his father's footsteps as indicated in a statement of expenses of Les Forges for the period 22 October 1763 to 1 June 1764.[15] The last item of information which has come down to us concerning these children is provided through the record of a sale made by all four, on 19 October 1767, of one half of a piece of land situated in Three Rivers, part of the estate of their late mother.[16] At the time Marie-Madeleine and her husband Jean Sicard, Antoinette and her husband Amable Sicard, as well as Antoine, then lived in Maskinongé, the place of residence of the Sicards de Carufel, Pierre being then absent, having left for the "North-West."

From the second marriage there were four more children - Gertrude, born in 1751, Jean-Baptiste, born in 1752, Joseph born in 1758 and finally Marie-Geneviève, born in 1761.[17] No documents have been found concerning the subsequent existence of these children of the second marriage, unlike that of the first four.

Retirement. Between 1764 and 1748 Pierre Marchand lived in retirement at Chenail du Nord, in Maskinongé. In 1770 he purchased a second piece of land, adjoining his own.[18] He had become a farmer, growing crops and raising a few head of livestock, henceforth living not far from his children, Marie-Madeleine, Antoinette and Antoine who had taken up residence in the area. He died at Chenail du Nord on 19 May 1787 and was buried the following day in the parish cemetery of Sainte-Geneviève de Berthier.[19]

Way of life

The post-mortem inventory of the estate of the Marchand couple, Pierre and the late Marie-Charlotte Sauvage, as established by the notary Louis Pillard, on 8 July 1752[20] has made it possible to document their material existence.

Family. As of 8 July 1752
Pierre Marchand, approximately 37
Gertrude Frigon, mother, 29
Children of the first marriage:

Marie-Madeleine	11
Marie-Antoinette	9
Jean-Pierre	8
Antoine	5

Children of the second marriage:
Gertrude 1

Dwelling. The family lived at the father's place of work, at Les Forges, in housing provided by the firm.

According to Les Forges' inventory in 1741, 1746 and 1748 it would appear that they lived in a dwelling 68 feet wide by 23 feet in depth located on the plateau. The 1741 inventory indicates that this particular dwelling housed three families, each with "une chambre, cabinet et autres commodités."[21]

The method of building was simple: vertical and cross stakes, with two floors. The floors and ceilings were of tongue and groove planks. There were five entrance doors, each with their iron fittings and latches, four with locks and keys, and ten glazed windows. The interior was partitioned by five tongue and groove board walls, each 15 feet in length. This particular detail, found in the documents is puzzling. These partitions separated the dwellings of the three families, and provided each in turn with a large room and a small room. But since nothing was said about the actual arrangement it is quite impossible to say how large these rooms were or how heating was organized within them.

The building had two double chimneys - each with two dressed stone hearths 25 feet in height, as measured from the ground floor, 3 feet 7½ inches in width on the outside and 4 feet 2 inches on the other side (a mass 6 feet wide and 3 feet deep). There was a third chimney, a single one, with a single hearth, 25 feet in height, 4 feet 11 inches in width on the outside and 3 feet on the inside (a mass 3 feet wide by 3 feet deep). The lintel of the fireplace was of dressed stone.

This dwelling was occupied in part by the Marchand family. Its dimensions, approximately 23 feet by 23 feet suggest that it must have been equal to one third or so of the total area. There were two rooms, a large room and a small one. Added living space was provided by the space under the eaves, used in summer or on occasion as a dormitory. Most of the family's daily activities took place in the main room. The small room could be used for storage or as a bedroom, given adequate heating facilities. The actual living area for the family met the usual standards of the period which cared little for intimacy and had no notion of specialisation of spatial functions or, in other words, made no provision for single-purpose rooms. On the contrary life was centered around the sources of heat, and furniture was very mobile.

Heating. As has previously been indicated heating was provided by two double chimneys and one single chimney, i.e., by five hearths for the three families which means that the Marchands had at least one and possibly, two.

Fittings, including one pair of plain andirons and two shovels, attest to the use of at least one fireplace serving both for heat and cooking purposes (evidence of the latter point being provided by the presence of a spit). On the other hand we have no indication whatever of the possible use of a second fireplace, as would have been the case had we found a record of a second pair of andirons. But from the lack of evidence in this instance it should not be assumed that there was no other fireplace. While andirons are useful, they are not indispensable.

Wood supplied for the company to its workmen was used for fuel.

> For firewood for *La Maison* and for all the . workmen employed at the furnace and the forges, including carters, fifteen hundred cords of wood at 20s a cord 1500.[Translation][22]

This item of information does not however shed any light on the matter of annual consumption figures per workman. Subsequent documents however, dating from British days - the custom had remained unchanged - suggest that it would be 20 cords.[23]

Did the Marchand family enjoy a cast-iron or brick stove used for auxiliary heating purpose? There is no evidence of the existence of such a facility in the inventory of the property held in common by the spouses, nor in the various company inventories of 1741, 1746 or 1748. On the other hand the 1760 inventory does refer to "vingt-cinq poëles à chauffer avec leurs portes et trépieds" as being put at the disposal of the workmen.[24] It might be assumed that Marchand was among the beneficiaries of this arrangement.

Furniture. The furniture held in common by the spouses was very plain, comfortable but hardly luxurious. There were two beds, one with a bedstead frame, a palliasse, a feather bed, a bolster, two sheets, a blanket and a bedspread - the whole valued at 120L. The other also included a bedspread, a feather bed, a bolster, two sheets and a bedspread, valued in all at 60L. In those days two beds provided for eight people: two adults, four children and two babies. The use of a third bed cannot be ruled out however, that of the surviving spouse not having been recorded nor appraised and being reserved to him under the terms of the original marriage contract, or alternatively that of the spouses, i.e., the parties to the second contract. Assuming then that the baby slept in a crib or cradle, this piece of furniture was considered as part of his personal effects, unrecorded then in the list of the joint estate of husband and wife, which might explain its omission from the inventory.

The house possessed a single piece of furniture used for storage, a buffet with a dresser to hold crockery, food, table or bed linen. There were two folding tables (with folding leaves and revolving legs) as well as a small square table used for meals as well as for various other domestic purposes. Last item listed under furniture: a dough box used both to make and to keep bread as well as to store food. The total appraised value of the furniture was 213L 18s.

Utensils. Like the furniture the utensils were essentially utilitarian in character and suggest no degree of luxury. Among those used for preparing food were listed a strainer, a tin cheese mold, a sieve, a brass mortar and pestle, a tin pepper pot and eight terrines.

For cooking, roasting or grilling, there was one spit, one dripping pan, one gridiron; for frying, three frying pans; for boiling, six cooking pots, one tin cauldron and two accessories, two ladles and a basting spoon.

As for plates and dishes and the like used for eating, 26½ pounds of such pewter objects headed the list. The usual practice was to appraise the value of pewter as a whole, by weight. Among these objects, no doubt, were plates, dishes, basins, spoons and perhaps a water jug and a few mugs. To this pewter could be added a tureen and a plate, 12 forks, a tin cup and two silver tumblers. The tureen and its plate, used for serving soup, were probably made of faience. The tin cup was the only drinking vessel and was used by everyone. The isolated reference to forks is interesting. According to the practice of the time these were made of steel whereas the spoons, usually of pewter, were appraised as part of the total weight of other utensils of similar manufacture. As for knives it should be remembered that, in that period, pocket knives were used for eating. We have a record of two silver tumblers and finally, five bottles and a jug for keeping liquids, probably spirits, wine or oil.

Following the notary in his rounds it is possible to determine the place occupied by all of these various objects listed above. The six cooking pots, the cauldron, the cup, one lantern, two watering cans, two buckets, three frying pans, the gridiron, two long-handled ladles, the dripping pan, the basting spoon, the spit, two fireplace shovels, one crosscut saw, the strainer and the cheese mold could be found near the hearth. The dresser held the pewter tableware, the mortar and pestle, the eight terrines, stacked one over the other, the 12 forks and the sieve. Finally, in the buffet, were six pounds of suet, the soup tureen and its plate, five bottles, the two silver tumblers, one pair of cards (for carding wool), a pepper pot as well as the bed and table linen.

As for cooperage it consisted merely of two buckets to hold the water used about the house and no tools except a crosscut saw used to cut up firewood or for various other purposes.

For the care of clothing and linen we find two flatirons. The presence of a pair of cards suggest some form of cottage craft. In fact there is no other reference to suggest any other similar activity, no spinning wheel, no loom, no knitting needles, though these references might have thrown some light on the possible use of the wool.

All this equipment was valued at 114L 3s.

Lighting. Lighting equipment consisted of three old brass candlesticks holding suet candles. In fact there is a reference to six pounds of suet used in the making of these candles. There being no mention of any candle-mold one can assume that candles were made by dipping. A sheet metal lantern was used to move about the house.

Bed and table linen. As we have noted from the description of the beds given above these were well provided with linen, the first bedstead having a palliasse, a feather bed, a bolster, two sheets, a blanket and a bedspread and the second having a feather bed, a bolster, two sheets and a bedspread. In addition the family owned eight grass-bleached sheets and four sheets of *toile de brin*, with a total appraised value of 102L 10s. As a rule these sheets were of the double-width variety, made of linen, the quality varying. In this instance the so-called *toile de brin* was similar to common linen, grass-bleached linen being of a superior quality. In 1748[25] the former type was worth 18 and 19s an ell, the grass-bleached variety, 5 or 10s more.

Table linen was appraised, in total, at 59L. It included ten tablecloths and two dozen napkins. As a rule these were of ordinary or coarse linen.

It will be seen that bed or table linen had considerable value. The sum of 161L 10s quoted only refers to the ten sheets, to the tablecloths and napkins. As for the bed linen, used for the two beds in the house, it was appraised along with these and their bedding, the total value being placed at 180L. This was a considerable amount since it must be remembered that bedsteads had a low valuation in themselves. The value of linen was due to the high purchase price of such imported material.

Clothing. The post-mortem inventory records no item of clothing. Those belonging to the surviving spouse and those of the children can be assumed to have been deemed part of their personal property and consequently left unappraised. On the other hand one might have expected to find some reference to the clothing of the deceased wife. The point was, however, that the inventory was carried out four years after the event, hence the omission of such references.

The only information about the garments worn by Marchand is provided by a letter written on 13 October 1750 from Quebec City by Jean Aubry to his brother Claude and received by him on 26 September of the following year:

> ... for Marchand, Mr. La Tullière will bring him a hat with the rest of his money, and if he wants a cap he has only to ask for it ... Marchand's habit costs 140L and the length of linen 102L 12s, so he has 157L 8s left for a hat and a cap and Mr. La Tullière will settle the account with him when he goes to Les Forges ... [Translation][26]

The habit referred to must have consisted of a waistcoat, a coat and breeches of some fine stuff, if we are to judge by the extremely high prices quoted. As for the length of linen it was probably to be used to make high quality shirts.

At the time the inventory was carried out there was in the house one ell of *damas sur galet* and one of *carisé*. The damask could be used for petticoats or dresses. This was a material costing on the average 4L an ell less than the Tours or Lyon variety.[27] *Carisé*, a kind of coarse, clear linen was used to make various things: waistcoats, shirts, skirts, petticoats, cloaks or short mantles.[28] It was very reasonably priced, on the average 25s an ell.[29] The two kinds imported were white and red. Very little of this material was found, a mere two ells in all, from which it might be assumed that these were remnants, the rest having been used to make clothing. There is no record either of it being on sale to the workmen from the store in *La Grande Maison* in the 1741 inventory.

Livelihood

We should now turn to the means of support of the family through a consideration of the respective occupations of the various members of the family.

Pierre Marchand was a skilled worker. He had come to Les Forges as a stoker. In 1739 he was so designated.[30] He worked at the upper forge.

The following year he was a master forgeman. His employment at that time was varied however; not only was he a forgeman but on occasion he still worked as a stoker and was also called upon to train others. With Pierre Michelin, Edouard Hamilton and Joseph Terrault, all stokers, he had to teach that trade to one Pierre Villard de St. Mexant. The administrators had agreed to pay the trainers 200L on the understanding that should the trainers fail to carry out their part of the bargain because of circumstances of their own making, no payment would be forthcoming. Two years later Villard was judged to be a competent stoker.[31]

Theoretically the work year extended over nine months, seven days a week. Any stoppages were due to lack of orders or cold weather.

> It is better to shut down the forges completely during the cold weather because it costs more for coal to keep the moving parts from freezing and to heat the forge than the iron produced is worth.
>
> For this reason, the work here is limited to two hearths going continually nine months a year ... [Translation][32]

In principle, as a stoker Marchand was paid 700L per annum and 900L as a forgeman.[33] Employed to "strike the iron" he was paid on a piecework basis, 12s per thousand. While this might appear complicated the formula was in fact quite simple. It was paid out in three forms. For example, in 1742, Marchand was reputed to be a forgeman, though his wages appear to indicate that in that particular year he was employed as much as a stoker as a forgeman. When working he was paid on a piecework basis. When not employed his remuneration was based on a figure of 700L or 900L per annum, depending on the type of work performed at the time of the stoppage. A closer look at the statement of expenses for the operation of the forges will make this matter of work and wages clearer:

> October 1, 1741 to August 1, 1742: Paid to Marchand, stokerr, for his quarter of the sum of 610.12 for 50,882 lbs of iron forged during the months of October, November and December at the upper forge at 12L a thousand, hence the said sum of 610.12, one quarter of which equals
>
> 152.13
>
> Per day for twenty-three and a half days when the forge was shut down during the said period at 58.6.8 a month (as a stoker, 700L a year)
>
> 45.13
>
> To the above for his wages as a stoker from January 1 to June 15, 5 months and 15 days at 58.6.8 a month.
>
> 320.16.8
>
> To the above for his wages as a forgeman from June 15 to August 1, one and a half months at 75L a month.
>
> 112.10
>
> 631.12.8 [Translation][34]

It is obvious then that for the period 1 October 1741 to 1 August 1742, ten months, Marchand had been in receipt of 631L 12s 8d, this remuneration being based on the formula explained above, in part on the basis of piecework, in part on the basis of his wages as stoker and finally, on the basis of his wages as a forgeman.

In 1764 there had been no change in the basic annual remuneration. Marchand, as a forgeman received 75L every month, i.e., 900L per annum. On the other hand there had been an increase in the pay for piecework. Courval, estimating the workmen's remuneration, states "ce que l'on paye pour chaque travailleur pendant l'ouvrage Marchand, Robichon, Terreault, Michelin font du millier de fer 22L le $\frac{00}{00}$ (one thousand)."[35]

The Haldimand papers gives some idea of Marchand's income for the year 1764.

From October 22, 1763 to June 1, 1764:

Marchand and Michelin for 17142 lbs of iron at 22L a thousand (Marchand's share being 188L 11s 2d)	337L 2s 5d
Marchand and his son, 6 months of wages at 115L [Translation][36]	690L

While Marchand was paid 75L monthly, his son received 40L monthly as his father's helper, Marchand Sr.'s share being 450L and his son's 240L.

from June 1 to September 1, 1764 for cannon casting and iron production:

Marchand 39 days at 3L	117L
Robichon Marchand Terreault Michelin) for 35299 lbs of iron at 44L a thousand) entered under cannon casting	1553L 3s 6d
to the above for 19663 lbs at 22L a thousand [Translation][37]	432L 7s 8d

For the four workmen, income increased to 1985L 11s 2d; Marchand himself earned 496L 7s 9d.

from September 1 to October 1, 1764

Robichon Marchand Terreault Michelin for 6979 lbs of iron at 22L	153L 1s 9d
to the above for 4708 lbs of iron at 44L a thousand	251L 3s 4d
Robichon 10 days of wages from September 21, including the period when the forges were shut down and to his son, hodman, at 115L	38L 6s 8d
Marchand *idem* and to his son, hodman	38L 6s 8d
Terreault 10 days *idem* at 58L 8s	19L 9s 4d
Michelin 10 days idem	19L 9s 4d [Trans.][38]

The four workmen therefore had received, on a piecework basis, 340L 4s 13d, or 76L 1s 3d each. For the ten days during which the works had shut down, the Marchands, father and son, were paid 38L 6s 8d, 25L for the former and 13L 6s 8d for the latter.

Marchand's income for that period - 22 October 1763 to 1 October 1764 - was 1352L 1s 3d, that of his son Antoine, hodman, 253L 6s 8d.

Although Marchand spent most of his time working at the forge, he also helped look after the livestock and fowl (1 cow, 2 sows, 8 hens, 1 rooster), and we may safely assume he must also have hunted and fished.

He also dabbled to some extent in real estate. His first transaction in this respect involved the buying of a piece of land 80 feet by 92 feet in Three Rivers, on which property there was a wooden house, a bread oven and a cowshed. The purchase price was 500L.[39] This was at the time when his first wife, Marie Sauvage, was still living, 15 October 1747, and the property was held jointly with her according to the terms of their marriage contract. The buildings were destroyed by fire in May 1752,[40] an incident which probably required the preparation of a post-mortem inventory, the land being then appraised at 530L and such material as had been recovered from the gutted buildings, at 50L. Under the terms of his second marriage contract, also providing for community of property, Marchand rebuilt the house[41] and sold it, with half of the land it stood on, to one Paul Dielle, on 8 October 1754[42] for the sum of 3000L. The other half of the lot went to his children, heirs of their mother, the late Marie Sauvage. They, in turn were to sell it to Jean-Baptiste Badeaux on 19 October 1767, for 200L.[43]

On 5 August 1755, Marchand purchased land - with no buildings - in the town of Three Rivers.[44] This was a lot 60 feet by 90 feet owned by Louise Coursol. The selling price in this instance was 650L. Marchand leased it to Pierre-René Boulanger at an annual rent of 12L, 27 April 1770.[45]

On 1 November 1761, Marchand entered into a farm-lease agreement with Joseph St-Pierre from whom he rented land, about an arpent in width by 20 in depth, situated in the suburbs of Three Rivers.[46] Under the terms of the agreement the lessor was to receive one third of the income accruing from the sale of all hay or grain grown on the property. On the expiration of the lease Marchand sold the land to Michel Jutras for 1000L, 400L payable on the following St. Michael's Day, the remaining 600L as an annuity of 60L per year.[47] The actual contract for this sale has not come down to us, but it is highly probable that it provided Marchand with a handsome profit.

Wishing no doubt to be closer to his children, then settled in Maskinongé, Marchand bought about two arpents of land nearby, between 1764 and 1770, at Chenail du Nord. We discovered this transaction through a subsequent purchase of additional property adjoining his own on the northeast. These two arpents as well as one half of a shed were bought from Pierre Dubard for 300s or 360L.[48]

Clearly, Marchand enjoyed speculating in real estate, unhesitatingly investing in land to be rented or sold at a profit.

François Godard, Stoker

History

Birth. François Godard was the son of François Godard and Gabrielle Viard, both from Rochefort in the diocese of Dijon, Burgundy.[49] He landed in Canada about 1731 with his parents who had come to work at the ironworks of Saint-Maurice. His sisters, Marie-Anne and Anne were also in the group.

Marriage. As early as 1737 his sister Marie-Anne married Michel Chaillé, a worker at the forges.[50] In 1739 Anne married Jean Dautel, also an employee of the works.[51] On February 26 François married Marie Blais, daughter of Jacques Blais and Angélique Cartier of Ste. Anne d'Yamachiche; the room provided in this instance a dowry of 500L, the future spouses reserving a *préciput* of 250L.[52] Claude left home in 1750 to marry Agathe Couturier dit Labonté.[53]

Descendants. François Godard and Marie Blais gave birth to five children. Claude, born in 1744; Marie-Anne, born in 1745; Jean-François, born in 1747; Catherine, born in 1748; and Françoise born in 1751.[54]

The exact date of the death of François Godard is not known. Marie Blais had an inventory of the joint estate drawn up 20 January 1746.[56] The following month, on February 9 she remarried, this time a foreman at the ironworks, Pierre Milot.[56]

Way of Life

The family in 1755.

François Godard, father
Marie Blais, mother
Claude 11
Marie-Anne 10
Jean-François 8
Catherine 7
Françoise 4

Housing. The Godard family settled at Les Forges immediately after their arrival in Canada. From the 1741 company inventory we know that they lived in the house built by the sieur Francheville, sharing it with the Bériaus. By the end of 1742 François Sr. was "too old to work steadily" [translation].[57] Was he widowed by then? Was François Jr., married in 1740 to Marie Blais, living with him? It might be assumed that such was the case, both men working together at the lower forge.[58]

The house occupied by the Godard and Beriau families was built *pièces sur pièces*; it was 38½ feet wide by 24 feet deep, with floors and ceilings of tongue and groove boards, a high quality method of building offering excellent protection against the cold. Ventilation and lighting were provided by five glazed windows. There was only one door, used by both families.

We are familiar with the internal arrangement through a document describing the Godard home:

> proceeded to Les Forges du St. Maurice ... to the home of François Godard, forgeman, where the said St-Jean had his lodgings ... he (Godard) told him (Louis Poulin de Courval, prosecutor) that, since he (Jean Brissard dit St.-Jean) had killed the said Beaupré, he had not seen him and had not slept in the hodmen's room, which was above his own ... I called upon the said Godard in the name of the King to show me all the rooms and outbuildings of the said house ... first the main room on the ground floor, the closet, the cellar, the attic, in which there was a closet where the said St.-Jean slept ... [Translation][59]

In this house, therefore, the Godard family had at its disposal a part of the ground floor, consisting of one large room and one small room or closet and part of the loft except for one panelled room reserved for the labourers from the lower forge, as well as the cellar. This cellar measured 15 feet square and was surrounded by posts. Interior access was by a trap door, exterior access by a door.

At the gable end of the house there was a small lean-to and at the front a cabin made of posts, measuring about 13 feet square, formerly used as a bakery. These two small buildings were used, in the one case for storing firewood and in the other as a shelter for some animals. In 1756, the family owned two cows and two pigs.

Heating. The house had a double chimney of stone 25½ feet high by 5 feet 7 inches across the front by 6 feet wide across the back. There were two hearths placed back to back, one on the side of the Godards' quarters, the other on the Bériaus'. In 1756, no hearth utensil is mentioned. It is, however a fact, that the pot-hanger, often considered as being part of the chimney is generally never appraised. As for the andirons, shovel and poker, more than one article or tool could be used for this purpose. The dwelling was probably heated solely by the fire, because in the year of the inventory, no stove was mentioned. The ironworks probably provided the family with one.[60]

Furniture. The furniture of the joint estate of François Godard and Marie Blais denotes a certain comfort; beds, furniture and other equipment were adequate.

First of all there were three beds: the first, belonging to the parents, consisted of a bedstead, a feather bed, two sheets, a bolster, two pillowcases, a wool blanket and a quilt; the second, doubtless reserved for the daughters, consisted of a trestle bed with a straw mattress, a feather mattress, two sheets, a bolster and a blanket; the third, used by the sons, also consisted of a trestle bed with a straw mattress, another mattress, a sheet, a bolster as well as a blanket.

Two buffets and a dresser served for the storage of clothes, bed and table linen and of utensils for preparing, eating and preserving food. Two tables, one folding, the other with turned legs, were used for different domestic purposes and for meals. No seats were listed: neither chair, armchair nor bench. We see this more as an omission than a lack. Finally there was a dough box used to make and store bread.

Although we know that the Godard's home possessed two rooms, one main room and a smaller one, the notary who drew up the inventory did not make note of them. Furthermore, while, in general, the articles were inventoried in the order in which they appeared, in this case they were grouped systematically; first the animals, then the utensils, furniture and linen.

It is however, very possible that all the furniture and articles were kept in the main room, because the inventory was taken in January. Thus all the daytime and nighttime activities of the household were concentrated in the room with the fireplace. The small room, in this cold season, was only a catchall or store room.

Utensils. The range of utensils in the house was very wide - even surprising. We are led to think this may have been a contribution to the joint estate by François Godard Sr. or a contribution of furniture originally bought by Francheville when he furnished the building.

> In addition to this forge, and at a distance of two *arpents*, sieur Francheville has also had a *pièces sur pièces* house built to lodge the workmen, and has furnished it with the necessary utensils. [Translation][61]

Among the utensils for preparing food was a cast-iron mortar, a funnel, a strainer, a pepper pot, a sieve and six terrines (milk pans). Utensils for cooking food fall into three groups. For grills and roasts, a roasting spit, a gridiron and a dripping pan were used. For boiling or frying, there were three frying pans, a copper skillet and six cooking pots. The utensils could be hung from the pot-hanger, or the crane, or if need be, placed on the trivet. There were three trivets for this purpose. For stewing there was a metal braising pan.

As for dishes, there was a great variety: 17 pewter plates, six faience plates, six pewter dishes, one faience dish, one faience basin, one bowl of faience and one of pewter, all of which were used as much for eating as for dishing up and serving food. Sixteen pewter spoons and 22 forks enabled several places to be set. For drinking, only four cups and saucers were mentioned. There were also silver tumblers, but, typical of the time, these were found with the valuables in the sideboard, rather than on the table in daily use. There were four in all, two tumblers, one small cup and another cup marked with the name, "François godard donné par luy a Son petit fils."[62] A tumbler marked with the name of Clode Gaudar is still preserved today in the Ursuline monastery at Three Rivers, (Fig. 25). It may have belonged to the brother or son of François Godard.

No utensil for preserving food is mentioned. As far as cooperage is concerned, this was limited to a little tub used for laundry and a pail bound with iron to draw and keep the water required for the household. One would have expected a greater number of containers for preserving food, since the cellar lent itself readily to storing such containers. Their omission does not necessarily imply their absence. The tools comprised only a small ax for splitting firewood. Appliances were limited to three irons used for linen and clothes.

Lighting. The house was lighted by candle as well as by the glow from the hearth. A flat candle holder and copper candlesticks were used. To snuff out the charred wick of the candle, copper snuffers were available. A small lantern made of tin provided light when outdoors.

Bed and Table Linen. The bedding has already been described. In addition, to provide a change of bed linen, there were eight sheets and one coverlet of English material. The linen for washing and eating consisted of 12 towels and six tablecloths. It is further noted that a small cloth was used to cover the top of the table with turned legs or one of the sideboards.

For the windows, serge or linen curtains were considered seemly in this house. In any case they had a sufficient supply; three curtains of green serge, two small serge curtains, two linen curtains.

Clothing. According to the inventory taken after decease, Marie Blais availed herself of her rights in the marriage contract to keep her clothes. In fact, none of these have been recorded. The same is true for the clothes of the dead man, probably handed out to relatives or kept for the children, with the exception of a coat, jacket and pair of breeches.

Livelihood

François Godard, like his father, worked as a stoker at the lower ironworks. He was thus part of the group of skilled workers engaged by the company for a salary of 700L per year.[63]

We know of no legal document whereby François Godard would have acquired real estate, unless it is a deed of sale for land and a concession in the seigneury of Grand Pré, which was inherited by Marie Blais from her mother.[64] This sale contributed 350L to the joint estate.

Jean Aubry, Master Collier

History

Birth and marriage. Jean Aubry was born in Châtillon-sur-Seine, in the diocese of Langres, in Burgundy. He came to Canada about 1738 to work at the Saint-Maurice ironworks as a collier.[65] He was accompanied by his wife, Antoinette Guesny, born in the parish of St. Rémi-de-Prates, in the diocese of Langres,[66] and by their three children, Marguerite, Simon and Jacques. Two more children were born in Canada, Jean-Baptiste and Angélique.[67] Jean Aubry belonged to a family of colliers. His cousins Claude, Jean and Joseph, natives of Saint-Brouin-les-Moines, in the diocese of Dijon, Burgundy, also came and settled in Les Forges du Saint-Maurice to practice their trade as colliers.[68]

Jean Aubry and his family lived in Les Forges, at the foot of the hill but only for a few years, since Jean died in 1744 or at the beginning of 1745. His widow was married again to Julien Duval, a day labourer and carter at the ironworks on 7 August 1745. On this occasion, she had an inventory of household goods drawn up in order to dissolve her joint estate with Jean Aubry.[69] On 11 June 1748, Julien Duval and Antoinette Guesny acquired land in the estate of Tonnancour.[70] Shortly after this purchase, Julien Duval died. Antoinette Guesny did not survive him very long since, on the 14 August 1750, the goods and chattels in the inheritance of the late Antoinette Guesny, widow of Jean Aubry and of Julien Duval were divided up.[71]

Way of Life

Let us look back just before the death of Jean Aubry and analyse the goods owned by the joint estate and inventoried after his death 7 April 1745, in order to become acquainted with their way of life. At that moment, the family was composed of the following:

Jean Aubry, father, collier
Antoinette Guesny, mother
Marguerite
Simon
Jacques
Jean-Baptiste
Angélique

Dwelling. The family lived in a house situated at the foot of the hill from the ironworks. Did the house belong to Jean Aubry or to Les Forges? It is difficult to establish, because, on the one hand, the post-mortem inventory states as title for the premises "Nil," while, on the other hand, the inventory of Les Forges in 1741 does not list this house. Would this indicate land granted by the company to this collier, as it had intended to do in the case of the carters?[72] We cannot say.

One can assume that the lodging consisted of one house, *pièces sur pièces*, composed of two rooms, that is a main room, called a "chambre" in the inventory, and a small room called "petite chambre a costé." In the front there were some windows with square glass panes or waxed cloth, without curtains, as well as a door. A single hearth of earth or stone provided heat for the room as well as for cooking. No stove, whether of brick, sheet metal or cast-iron is mentioned in the inventory. Ironworks documents do not stipulate if firewood was provided by the company, but a collier would certainly have known how to handle an axe.

Furniture. The furniture was basic: four chairs, one table, a dough box, a large chest and a big armoire. In the main room there was plenty of space for this furniture and the beds. The inventory began, in conformity with the customary legal procedure, with the utensils surrounding the fireplace, then the kitchen utensils, the chairs, the table, the chest and the big armoire. No furniture was mentioned in "the little room at the side."

While no mention was made in the inventory after death of the beds, one wonders how these people rested. The bed of Jean Aubry and Antoinette Guesny is documented *pour mémoire* - one clause of the marriage contract guaranteed that the survivor receive a bed and bed linen and fittings for his or her own use. However the widow's bed is described in her marriage contract as part of the contribution to her second joint estate with Julien Duval.

> One bed consisting of one feather bed, covered in linen, with a bolster, one straw mattress in Chochet (Cholet) linen, one pair of sheets of locally made linen, one Toulouse blanket of green wool, four points, partially worn, with an old set of draperies, red serge ... plus another pair of sheets. [Translation][73]

We find here a very comfortable bed, consisting of a warm blanket and surrounded by draperies to keep out the cold. The material mentioned is not extravagent; locally made linen, Cholet linen worth 16-30s an ell, serge worth 1-2 an ell, Toulouse quilting worth between (10L and 10L 10s).[74] The beds for the five children are not mentioned in the inventory, they were considered as belonging to the children and not part of the joint estate of their parents. There were presumably at least two beds, either bedsteads or folding beds with mattresses where two or three persons slept. Considering the use of space at the time, these beds must have been in the main room and must have been placed close to the hearth particularly in the winter. It is possible that one of these beds was kept in the little room, unless that place was used for storing foodstuffs, daily products or articles not in use, such as the old mattress and the old Illinois cowhide mentioned in the inventory of this room.

Utensils. The utensils, like the furniture, were not luxurious but rather, basic. First of all at the fireplace there was a pot-hanger, of rudimentary type, consisting of a chain and a hook. Around the hearth were the fire shovel, the brass kettle and four jars as well as receptacles for cooking food. These included an old gridiron with seven prongs, a metal dripping pan, a covered cooking pot with a capacity of five quarts, a brass skillet holding three pints and a brass saucepan with lid.

To prepare food there was a small cast-iron mortar, a funnel, a blood sausage filler and a strainer. Tableware was limited to eight common pewter plates. Six old pewter spoons and four iron forks completed the place settings. For drinking, one brass cup served the whole family, as was customary. The cooperage was scarcely more lavish being restricted to a cedarwood salting-tub. No other receptacle for preserving food appears in the inventory.

Lighting. In this lodging, light, at nighttime, was provided by candle, oil or animal fat. The candles were made with a mold of tinplate. To hold these candles a small brass candlestick and a small iron chandelier were used. For oil lighting, a *lampe de charaille* was employed,called elsewhere in the country a *chaleuil*, or nowadays a *bec-de-corbeau*.

Bed and table linen. There is no mention of bed linen except for an old straw mattress and the Illinois cowhide, found in the small room at the side. This fur coverlet, more frequently used in the previous century, perhaps still enjoyed a certain popularity on cold nights.

Table linen was limited to two tablecloths of hemp cloth, made locally. We cannot assume that Antoinette Guesny made them, if the lack of any reference to home-weaving equipment is a reliable indicator.

In conclusion, although the inventory does not specify in the property of the joint estate any animals, except a four-year-old cow, it should be mentioned that Antoinette Guesny, on her marriage to Julien Duval in 1745, did contribute animals to the joint estate - a one-year-old heifer, a large one-year-old pig and a suckling pig of the same year.

Livelihood

Jean Aubry was a master collier and thus responsible for making charcoal. He worked on contract and was paid 20s per *pipe* of coal (to make 500,000 lbs of iron in 9 months, the blast-furnace could consume up to 13,770 *pipes* of coal, depending on its quality).[75]

> The terms of the contract are established as follows: for the production of coal, an agreement was reached on February 10 last (1740) with Jean Aubry and Pierre Chaillot, master colliers, for six thousand cords of wood, and on the 14th of the present month with Silvain Chabenar dit Berry and Jean Chapus for three thousand cords of wood. Messrs Simonnet and Cressé shall enforce the said contracts and ensure that Jean Aubry and Pierre Chaillot meet the same conditions established by the agreement with Berry and Chapus, which are: to begin next spring as soon as weather permits to prepare and leaf fifteen-cord furnace loads without interruption until burnt, in order to avoid fires in the woods, to clean their furnaces of ashes at their own expense, to burn the said wood as required to provide clear, good quality coal, subject to rejection of any which is not

> of good quality, and to compensate the Company for all wood wasted and destroyed through their fault, to guard against fires caused by their negligence or that of their workmen, inasmuch as the inclusion of all these conditions in the contract with Jean Aubry is just and almost entirely in their interest.
> [Translation][76]

Unfortunately the few expense accounts from the ironworks mention the Aubry names in a general way only: old Aubry, Aubry's son, the elder Aubry, Aubry brothers. This does not permit us to determine the exact wages of Aubry.

François de Nevers dit Boisvert, Day Labourer

History

Birth. François de Nevers dit Boisvert was born in this country and comes from a Lotbinière family.[77]

Marriage. On 22 May 1722 he married Madeleine Piché dit Dupré, from Pointe-aux-Trembles, near Quebec City.[78]

Employment. In 1739, the household was located at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice.[79] François de Nevers dit Boisvert, worked there as a day labourer, sometimes as a woodcutter, sometimes as a collier, dresser or *feuilleur*, sometimes rough-casting houses, cutting hammer handles and road building.[80] By his side were many relatives cutting wood for charcoal: Joseph, Michel, the father Etienne, the son Etienne, Louis Boisvert and Louis de Nevers.[81] Possibly Joseph was his elder son.

Descendants. Nine children were born of the marriage between François de Nevers dit Boisvert and Madeleine Piché dit Dupré. From the inventory prepared after decease, the five elders are known to us: François, Madeleine, Marie-Joseph and Marie-Angélique.[82] After the Boisverts settled at Les Forges, four children were born: Pierre in 1739, Louise in 1742; Marie in 1744 and Marie-Thérèse in 1745.[83]

Joseph followed in his father's footsteps and worked with him at the ironworks.[84] Madeleine left the paternal home to marry Pierre Labonne, a workman at Les Forges.[85] Marie-Joseph married Jean Perrin, a collier (*see* Monograph on Jean Perrin). Once widowed, she contracted a second marriage on 21 May 1751 with François Lemert, a day labourer at the ironworks.[86] On June 14 in the same year, Marie-Angélique married François Bournival dit Picard, a workman at the ironworks.[87]

Death. François de Nevers dit Boisvert, died in 1756. On January 20 he was a witness at the marriage of Pierre Milot and Marie Blais, the widow of François Godard.[88] This is the last legal document on which François Boisvert set his mark. On March 26, Madeleine Piché his widow, had the inventory of the goods and chattels of their joint estate drawn up.[89] This inventory acquaints us with the personal property in the house, accumulated in the course of 34 years of marriage.

Livelihood

Composition of the family in 1756 before the father's death:

François de Nevers dit Boisvert, father, day labourer at the ironworks
Madeleine Piché dit Dupré, mother
Joseph, day labourer at the ironworks
François, adult
Pierre, 17
Louis, 14
Marie, 11

Madeleine, Marie-Joseph and Marie-Angélique, by now married, had left home. We do not know if Joseph and François, by now adults, still lived under the paternal roof or if they were married.

Dwelling. The Boisvert family, in 1741, lived in a small primitive dwelling.

> A cabin, where Boisvert lives, of vertical and cross stakes, covered by 20 planks, the floor and ceiling butt-jointed boards, the fireplace earthen. [Translation][90]

This cabin consisted of a single room heated by a single hearth for everyone who lived, ate and slept there. It offered little comfort; it was crudely built and ill kept and its earthen fireplace provided scant protection against fires.

Heating. If the family was living in this lodging in 1756, we know that the fireplace was, to improve the heating, supplemented by a brick stove, as shown by a stove plate and door. As far as fuel was concerned, firewood was supplied by the ironworks company. No implements for the fireplace are mentioned, whether for building and maintaining the fire or for cooking (pot-hook, bracket).

Lighting. The single room was lighted by the fire in the hearth and by two chandeliers. There was a reserve of five pounds of candles for this purpose and a candle-snuffer holder.

Furniture. The furniture of the house was reduced to the simplest terms; two beds, a poor folding table, three chests, a dough box and a spinning wheel.

The parent's bed is neither described nor valued in the inventory; it would return to the widow according to the marriage contract. The second bed consisted of a bedstead, two palliasses or mattresses, a feather bed of locally made cloth, two sheets and a blanket. Additional bed linen was recorded; an old pallaisse, a cowhide, two old blankets and one sheet. A single bed for the children is noted. Although at that period, two and sometimes three children were accommodated in one bed, it is possible that, in the evening, a pallaisse was spread out on the floor near the fire.

Food was prepared on the only table; utensils used for this purpose included two terrines and a dish. Bread was baked at home; the dough box, the scraper and the sieve bear witness to this. For cooking food, the range of utensils was very limited; for grilling, an old gridiron; for frying, an old frying pan; for soups, stews and the pot-au-feu and also for heating water, four cooking pots wth two old ladles and a large fork; no roasting spit or braising pan.

Food. Some stock of food was kept in the house; 40 pounds of pork fat, 4 pounds of butter and 9 *minots* of flour. The products of animal husbandry certainly added considerably to the household diet. Boisvert, of the workmen whose inventories have come into our hands, was the one who owned the greatest number of animals. He raised 19 fowl, a sow, three little pigs, a one-year-old pig, three cows and a heifer; it is not surprising to discover 50 trusses of hay to feed the animals.

Consumption of food. Meals were eaten at the table at home, and people sat on chests or old battered benches. Pewter vessels were set on the table, which was covered with a tablecloth (3 tablecloths in the inventory).

The pewter ware was valued in bulk according to weight, 22½ pounds. This might consist of plates (each weighing a pound), of dishes or basins (each weighing a pound to a pound and a half), some drinking vessels and spoons. One may assume eight or so plates, two dishes, two or three bowls, some drinking pots and some spoons. Five steel forks and five others of tin, can, with pocket knives, complete the place settings at the table.

Preservation of food. A Bordeau jar is mentioned, that is a stoneware jar generally used to preserve butter, no other receptacle of glass or ceramic figures in the inventory. The salting-tub is doubtless included in the cooperage, which is not described but valued at 9L 45s.

Equipment for home craft work. In contrast to several other houses in Les Forges, as described in the inventories, we find at the Boisverts a spinning wheel, thread, tow and cotton.

Tools. François Boisvert owned two guns, indicating he was a hunter, which would have contributed extra as well as variety to the daily fare. Further, two old scythes, a plough chain, a sleigh chain and some ironmongery constituted the workman's set of tools.

Dress. No clothes appear on the inventory. The apparel of the widow and the children were classified as personal belongings and not part of the joint estate. Those belonging to the deceased were shared among the children.

Toilet Articles. One article should be noted: the mirror which was without doubt hung on one of the walls of the room. Locally made soap valued at 2L is recorded.

The entire personal property has been estimated at 567L 7s 6d, 300L 8s of which is the value attributed to the livestock. The furnishings amount to the sum of 276L, not including the widow's bed and the clothes. In spite of these omissions this is not a large sum.

Jean Perrin, Collier

History

The son of Henri Perrin and Antoinette Labranche, Jean Perrin was born in the parish of Guiton, diocese of Bourges, in Berry. In 1747, the name of Jean Perrin appears in the registry of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, where he worked as a collier.[91] This same year, on February 13th, he married Marie-Joseph de Nevers, daughter of François de Nevers dit Boisvert, day labourer at the ironworks and of Madeleine Piché.[92] Their first child was born in 1749 and christened Marie-Josephte.[93] Shortly after the event, Jean Perrin died.

Marie-Josephte remarried, a François Lemert, son of Jean Lemert and Marguerite Hivon of the parish of Basillé, diocese of Auranche.[94] François Lemert was a day labourer at the ironworks. From their union, four children were born: Jean-Louis in 1752, Pierre in 1754, Joseph in 1755, and Louis in 1758.[95] François Lemert settled on a property at Baie St-Antoine. On 4 June 1784, Marie-Josephte de Nevers, widowed a second time, devoted herself to her eldest daughter, Marie-Josephte Perrin and her son-in-law, Etienne Fauché of Baie St-Antoine.[96]

Way of Life

At the time that Marie-Josephte de Nevers was remarried to François Lemert she had a post-mortem inventory drawn up in order to dissolve the joint estate with Jean Perrin.[97] This document enables us to learn about the way of life of the Perrin family.

The family was composed of:
Jean Perrin, father, collier
Marie-Josephte de Nevers, mother
Marie-Josephte, 1 year old

Dwelling. Jean Perrin lived at les Forges du Saint-Maurice. However, neither the inventory after death, nor the inventories of Les Forges of 1741, 1746 or 1748 mention his place of residence. It was no doubt a small house or cabin, consisting of, to judge from the furniture, a single room heated by an earth or stone fireplace.

Furniture. The furniture was modest: one folding table, one dough box, one chest, one shabby dresser, one cradle and one bedstead. We note the absence of a seat and the lack of cupboard space: one chest for clothes and one dresser for utensils and food. The bedstead was certainly primitive, being worth only 1L. The bed linen was rather rudimentary: a straw mattress, a bolster, a few sheets and a blanket.

Utensils. Near the fireplace were a small number of utensils: a fire shovel, a roasting spit for roasting meat and poultry, a skillet and cooking pot with its ladle, to cook food and heat water. To prepare food, just a small mortar, a tin strainer and an earthenware dish were at the cook's disposal.

The meals were eaten at the only table; people sat on the chest or on an old battered bench. The pewter tableware, valued at 13½L, was placed directly on the table without a tablecloth. This tableware consisted, in theory, according to the estimate of its weight, of four plates, one porringer, one jar, one dish and some spoons. Neither a fork, nor even a drinking vessel is mentioned, except for two silver tumblers. These tumblers could certainly have been used for drinking, but their daily use is not certain. Generally, at this period, people bought a piece of silver as an investment, the market value of silver being more stable than the value of money, subject to devaluation in time of inflation. These two silver tumblers were, moreover, worth 50L, nearly one third of the value of the joint estate.

For food, the family raised six hens and a cow, the products of which, in addition to homemade bread and vegetables maybe from the kitchen garden, provided a part of the foodstuffs consumed.

As for dress, some clothes of Jean Perrin are known to us: a jacket, three pairs of breeches and a woollen hat.

What else was in the house? Only one tool, a pickaxe and a lock. Locksmith's parts were always inventoried because they represented significant value at that time. This one was valued at 3L.

All moveables in the joint estate of Jean Perrin and Marie-Josephte de Nevers were valued at 180L 6s, not a large amount. The range of property was limited, providing just for the necessities of life.

Livelihood

Jean Perrin practised the trade of collier. Although he worked at the ironworks, his name does not appear in the company accounts. It is possible then that he worked at leafing, setting up the stacks and supervising the manufacture of charcoal for the account of a master collier, who sometimes worked on a contract basis for Les Forges.

PART II DOMESTIC LIFE AT LES FORGES DU SAINT-MAURICE, 1793-1845

THE INTERIM PERIOD, 1760-93

As was pointed out previously in the introduction to our study, the periods which afforded the most information on the domestic life at Les Forges, were from 1729-60, and from 1793-1845. Let us look briefly at domestic life at Les Forges following the French administration and prior to the administration of Mathew Bell. This will permit us to see the continuity, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the evolution of daily life in the industrial village.

From 1760-63, the way of life at Les Forges proceeded without disruption in relation to the preceding epoch. Interior appointments and domestic equipment remained practically unchanged as revealed by the few inventories which we possess from the period: the inventory of Charles Desêves in 1769, a carpenter in residence,[1] the inventory of the goods of Louis Voligny in 1792, clerk and foreman living at L'Ormière,[2] as well as the inventory of Conrad Gugy at Les Forges and his residence at Yamachiche.[3] We learn the same from the study of the inventories of goods and chattels of those deceased during that period in the St. Lawrence Valley. Further, the arrival, towards 1769, of about a dozen anglophone workers did not change the life-style at the ironworks. These men at first asked for special provisions for themselves, such as English cheese from Gloucestershire, Cheshire and Suffolk. Walter Jorden, Superintendent of Les Forges, passed on their request to George Allsopp, the governor's secretary. He acceded to their demand the first time, but in a letter of 17 June 1769, he advised the superintendent of his desire not to interfere in the provisioning of the shop at Les Forges:

> Mr. Stanfield sent me the order that you directed to him, desiring me to send up the things you Commissioned him to procure for our people. I have sent you up the Small articles as at foot for which I charge your private Acc^{t} £1.1.0 halifax Currency and with respect to Provisions the Company having a Store at St. Maurice supplied with every kind generally wanted which are sold out Cheaper than the people can possibly buy them anywhere else in small quantities, you will readily conceive the Impropriety of my sending up Provisions for one part of the people Employed

> at the Forges as such a measure would infallibly create Jalousies among the Others. You will be likewise sensible that it is not proper to acquaint the English Workmen the particular reasons for my declining to send them the provisions.
>
> The Goods we ordered from London for the forges are arrived. There will be plenty of porter Glouceshire, Cheshire, and Suffolk Cheese, with you in two or 3 days.[4]

It was in the course of the first half of the 19th century that the changes in the standard of domestic life occurred. This is why we have assigned more importance to this period, quite apart from the fact that we have gathered ample documentation.

DOMESTIC LIFE IN *LA GRANDE MAISON*

Life in *La Grande Maison* under the administration of Mathew Bell is really little known if one refers to the documents and legendary if one believes popular tradition. Archival documents inform us principally about the granting of different leases as well as about the monopoly of the land surrounding Les Forges. Details concerning the daily life at *La Grande Maison* have left little trace in manuscript form, particularly in the absence of any account book. On the other hand, the strong personality of Mathew Bell, as well as a long reign of 53 years, have not escaped the memory of posterity. Various facts in peoples' memory, aided and abetted by their imagination have given rise to some legends. With the help of these and of fragments of information gleaned fortuitously from the documentation, we shall endeavour to sketch a picture of life at *La Grande Maison*. Information on epochs previous and subsequent to this period will add to our knowledge of life at *La Grande Maison* in an industrial area.

Occupants

When in 1793, Mathew Bell, David Munro and George Davidson leased the ironworks, all of them were then living in Quebec City. They were traders, and it was in this capacity that they were interested in operating the ironworks. Their careers had developed in the world of business and politics. Incidentally, Mathew Bell was more concerned with the fortunes of Les Forges. Tradition links only his name to *La Grande Maison*.

There is no biography of Mathew Bell. Research by the team of historians working on Les Forges du Saint-Maurice project has been restricted to the documents concerning the ironworks themselves. But, in the light of the data we possess, we believe that from 1793, until nearly 1825, Mathew Bell was living in Quebec City, in the magnificent house of Woodfield.[1] In 1799, he married a girl from Three Rivers, Ann McKenzie.[2] From 1801 to 1823 12 children were born,[3] all of whom, with the exception of Alexander Davidson, born in Berwick-on-Tweed like his father, were born in Quebec and their baptismal certificates are registered in the Anglican Church of that city. In 1820 or thereabouts, we assume Mathew Bell divided his place of residence between Quebec City and Three Rivers where he owned a very comfortable home, according to the British Army surgeon, Walter Henry:

> In the month of September 1829, the Honorable Mathew Bell a gentleman residing at Three Rivers ... My kind host has a comfortable, well kept, and English-looking establishment here.[4]

From 1824-48, Mathew Bell signed several agreements in the office of this house.[5] In 1831, he announced in a letter to Glegg, "I have nearly left Quebec for good."[6] In 1837, his wife died in Quebec (in their house in the course of a visit?), but was buried in the Anglican Church of St. James, in Three Rivers.[7] During the 1840s Mathew Bell nominated his son, Alexander Davidson as proxy for his affairs in Quebec.[8]

The presence of Mathew Bell in *La Grande Maison* was intermittent. Documents prove this. Following his visit to Les Forges in 1829, Baddeley mentions in his account, "... in the house forming Mr. Bell's place of residence when at the forges...."[9] In fact, Mathew Bell travelled to Les Forges for pleasure as well as business. More than once, he invited visitors to tour places where he had business interests. In June, 1830, he heard of the dispatch of commissioners entrusted with the task of exploring the area between Saint-Maurice and the Outaouais. He immediately offered the services of one of his employees as a guide and invited the commissioners, Bouchette and Ingall, to stay at *La Grande Maison*. The day of the visit, June 27, Mathew Bell was delayed by business matters. It was Mrs. Bell who welcomed the visitors.

> accueil des plus hospitaliers. L'honorable Mathew Bell propriétaire des Forges était absent pour ses affaires.[10]

Ingall's report is not the only document which discloses the presence of Mrs. Bell at Les Forges. When Walter Henry went to visit the works at the invitation of Mathew Bell on 29 September 1830, he dined with Mrs. Bell and her daughters:

> When we had seen all the lions of the place, we went to dinner in an old French mansion, finely perched on a high bank of the river, where we joined the ladies of the family.[11]

The intermittent nature of Bell's sojourns was sometimes regarded as an absence, to judge by certain comments. Particularly those of John Lambert in 1808, "the habitations of the superintendant and the work-people"[12] and those of the Executive Council of the Government of Lower Canada in its report dated 15 September 1843: "Le

Comité apprend qu'on ou deux commis du locataire résident sur les lieux."[13]

It was the latter, who, in short, were the permanent residents of the house. The directors, Mathew Bell and his businessmen associates nominated on the spot the managers of the enterprise. Work was therefore directed by a superintendent, two employees and a foreman.

Among these, the job of superintendent was certainly the most important. He was responsible for the ironworks, arranged for contractors to organize the internal operations, and lived in *La Grande Maison*, a grand residence and headquarters. Zacharie MacAulay was the first superintendent nominated by Bell and Munro. He occupied this position until the time of his death, on 17 April 1821.[14] The inventory of his goods and chattels certifies his place of residence and also informs us of that of his son:

> goods found in the principal residence of the said St. Maurice Station where he resided as director ... goods shown by Henry McAulay, clerk, resident at the said station ... [Translation][15]

Henry MacAulay took over from his father, as is shown by the census of 1825 and that of 1831 as well as by the lists of workers drawn up by Mr. Bell in 1829 and 1842.[16] He died in 1844.[17] Edward Grieves, Mathew Bell's representative at the foundry at Three Rivers, was an employee of Les Forges in 1844.[18] It may be assumed that, from then on he took over, in that same year, the management of Les Forges.

But besides the superintendent, who lived in *La Grande Maison*? The inventory of the goods and chattels of Zacharie MacAulay discloses that his son, at that time a clerk, resided there with his father. However, the clerks did not all enjoy this privilege. John Pullman, clerk from 1801 to 1804, lived in Three Rivers.[19] John Munro, clerk of the Three Rivers foundry and then at Les Forges, also lived at Les Forges, particularly in 1809[20] and then at Three Rivers, at least at the time of his death in 1820.[21] As for servants, information is slight. The registry of burial at St. James, Three Rivers, lists two names: Mary Hick (died in 1813), and Elizabeth Barber (died in 1820).[22] There was also a black servant employed to look after Mathew Bell's pack of hounds.[23]

Although these are the only names which can be connected with *La Grande Maison*, the censuses of 1825 and 1831, do, however, provide information on the number of people who stayed there[24] (Table 10).

The detail is not explicit and does not describe the role of the people, but it does acquaint us with the number of permanent residents in *La Grande Maison*, in the absence of Mathew Bell, of his family and visitors.

Table 10. Number of persons living in *La Grande Maison* according to censuses of 1825 and 1831

Year	Chief	Number of Persons in the House	Sex, Status, Age Group
1825	Henry MacAulay	5	1 man, unmarried, 18 to 25 years 1 man, married, 18 to 25 years 1 man, married, 25 to 40 years 1 woman, unmarried 14 to 45 years 1 woman, married more than 45 years
1831	Henry MacAulay	6	-

Thus at the time of Mathew Bell, *La Grande Maison* accommodated the administrators, the servants of the house and intermittently, the lessee himself. The situation was not new. From 1767 to 1783, the ironworks were leased to Christophe Pélissier, Alexandre Dumas and Associates. It is possible that Pélissier established his home in *La Grande Maison* together with his family. A deed describes this house as Pélissier's residence: "Passé aux forges de Saint-Maurice, maison de Pélissier."[25] But when Pélissier left the country in 1775, Alexandre Dumas nominated Pierre de Sales Laterrière as inspector of works. The latter states in his memoirs that in the house he was "washed, fed, lighted" [translation].[26] He lived there from 28 February 1775, to the month of August 1778.[27] In 1783, the ironworks were leased to Conrad Gugy. The latter owned a manor house at Yamachiche. Management of the ironworks was then assigned to Robert Brydon, his principal clerk. The inventory of goods and chattel after Gugy's death contains a description of Brydon's room.[28]

Following the administration of Mathew Bell, when James Ferrier and Henry Stuart obtained the lease of the place, Henry Stuart, for the first year, managed the operations of the ironworks. Then the management was assigned to William Stuart MacFarlane, son-in-law of James Ferrier.[29] Timothy Lamb was then a clerk and merchant at St-Maurice.[30] As such, he certainly had the privilege e of living at *La Grande Maison*. In 1851, according to th census of Canada, Jeffrey Brook took over as superintendent of Les Forges.[31] In 1863, Alexander McDougall and his sons became owners of Les Forges. They established themselves in the house with their families and divided the managerial responsibilities among themselves. Unfortunately their arrival was marked by the destruction by fire of part of *La Grande Maison*. They then lived in a house near *La Grande Maison*, as Abbé Caron tells us:

> They set up their shop in one of the rooms of *La Grande Maison*, but they themselves did not live there, as they found that the interior was in too poor condition. They stayed in a pretty wooden house slightly to the northwest and at right angles to *La Grande Maison*, near the site of the old chapel. [Translation][32]

La Grande Maison was nonetheless occupied by the caretaker's family. To quote Dollard Dubé: "le derrière de la grande maison était occupé par le gardien avec sa famille."[33]

In 1870, however, following a rearrangement of the house, Robert McDougall took up residence there, as his daughter, Annie, reported in her diary: "We lived in la grande maison at les forges after my grandfather died in 1870."[34] So, some years before Les Forges declined, *La Grande Maison* was the residence of the owner and director of the establishment.

The Residence

Built under the French régime, *La Grande Maison* suffered from the ravages of the weather as the years went by. The inventory of 1807, prepared at the request of Mathew Bell describes for us the poor condition of the residence before the lease of George Davidson and David Lee in 1786.

> *La Grande Maison*, built of sandstone, twenty-four feet long and forty wide, with a wing twenty-four feet by twenty-two, in poor condition and irreparable, with the exception of the exterior walls which, while in poor condition, can be repaired, and the roof, framework, ceiling, upper and lower floors and other works are to be immediately restored for use, the which buildings and works described above existed, before the lease granted to Messrs Davidson and Lee, with the exception of the repairs and restoration carried out by Messrs Munro and Bell. [Translation][35]

Between 1793 and 1807, some repairs were made by the lessees Mathew Bell and David Munro. According to the document these repairs were made to the exterior facing and the interior of the residence. This, as we have just seen, is the place where the superintendent lived, sometimes one or two employees, some servants as well as Mathew Bell during his visits to the place. The office of Mathew Bell and that of the superintendent were located there. In it the accounts were kept up-to-date, employees engaged, and sometimes even the sales of the personal property of the workmen were held, e.g. the sale of property from the estate of J. Cochrane, on 17 February 1834: "Le peuple assemble au bureau du dit Honorable Mathew Bell aux dit forges de St. Maurice."[36] *La Grande Maison* also had a shop for supplies for the workmen. We have scarcely any information on this, except for a single reference of Mathew Bell in a letter of 26 December 1829, addressed to James Kent: "Provisions are distributed to them (workmen) regularly at stated periods from the Lessee's stores."[37]

La Grande Maison fulfilled these three functions in the course of its existence as shown by the inventories during the French régime, that of Gugy's property in 1786, as well as the report of the proceedings of the seizure of McDougall's personal property in 1883.[38] But during the French régime, *La Grande Maison* also had a religious function. As noted before, one room was arranged as a chapel until a separate one was built. Under British rule, the chapel (building) was abandoned and under Gugy, it was used as a shed.[39] During the administration of Mathew Bell, *La Grande Maison* may possibly have regained its religious function. According to Abbé Caron, one room was occasionally used for church services: "Un prêtre disait de temps en temps la messe dans cette chambre, lorsque l'ancienne chapelle a été fermée ou détruite."[40]

Furnishings

If *La Grande Maison*, in the course of occupation, retained the same functions as described before, the interior arrangement also remained largely unchanged. The functional areas were always divided in the following way; in the east, the residential areas, including the kitchen in the northeast; in the south, if needed, the religious area; in the west the administrative and commercial area. The residential side overlooked the St-Maurice, and the administrative and commercial side provided direct access to the industrial installations, while affording a view over the whole plateau (Figs. 6, 7).

We know little of the precise use of each of the rooms in Mathew Bell's time. One document alone, the deposition of Henry MacAulay, contained in the report of the proceedings concerning a theft which occurred at *La Grande*

Maison in the 1830s discloses two:

> The eleventh of this month ... the Witness being asleep there at the time heard some noise in the front room under his bedroom and having heard some noise in his office where there was some money ... he went down into the front room with a candle and found that a key had been broken in the lock of the office where the money was ... [Translation][41]

The superintendent's room was therefore situated in th first attic, above his office. The residential area would therefore have been reserved for Mathew Bell's use during his visits. Popular tradition, as the Abbé Caron,[42] Benjamin Sulte and Albert Tessier[43] relate, reports the existence of a state room, that of the governor: "Le gouverneur lui-même venait souvent résider chez M. Bell et il avait sa chambre dans la 'grande maison' connue sous le nom de 'chambre du gouverneur,' elle était la mieux meublée."[44] This information is very slender when compared with the data from previous periods (Table 11).

Table 11. Rooms in *La Grande Maison* mentioned in the documents[45]

1741	1786	1793-1845	1845-83
Ground floor of main part:			
1 reception room	room of Mr. Brydon	Mr. MacAulay's "office"	chapel
2 rooms	room used as store	governor's room	room used as store
2 small rooms			
Chaplain's room	small room		room from east side: caretaker's residence
Chapel	small room		
	small room		
	small room		
	small room		
	small room		
	large room		
Pavilion			
Annex: kitchen	kitchen	kitchen	
First attic: 4 panelled rooms	first attic	first attic H. MacAulay's room	attic: storage chapel
Second attic	second attic		
Cellar	cellar		

In Conrad Gugy's time, thanks to the inventory of his goods in 1786, the function of each room is known to us. We thus find, according to the inspection tour of the notary Joseph Papineau:

> **Private room of Mr. Robert Brydon**
> The bed, the office table and the merchandise - in particular all the materials - indicate the wide range of functions of this room, located just beside the shop.
> **Room used as a shop**
> The goods listed refer to the supplies for the workers.
> **Attic of the main house**
> It is primarily used for storing various supplies. The presence of a bed also makes it a bedroom.
> **Second attic**
> It is used entirely for storing goods, foodstuffs and ironworks' products.
> **Small room**
> It is reserved solely for ironworks products.
> **Small room**
> It is used at the same time as a place to rest and a storage room.
> **Cellar**
> It is used as a place to preserve foodstuffs.
> **Small room**
> Here the furniture (bed and desk) is more elaborate and could well be suitable as a place for Gugy to rest and work on his visits to Les Forges.
> **Small room**
> Only one bed is found here.
> **Large room**
> It is furnished with chairs, a table and utensils for serving tea. It is therefore a recreation room.
> **Other room**
> Table, chairs, tableware give it the role, to use a contemporary expression, of dining room.
> **Kitchen**
> It serves for preparing food and is also used as a place to rest (presence of a bedstead), doubtless for a servant.

This description of the rooms reveals the way residents of *La Grande Maison* lived, the movement of people within the house and how the rooms were used.

Previous to Bell's time, the only reference to rooms comes from Dollard Dubé:

> In the centre, to the right as you came in, with the office on the left, were the counters of the shop. At the back was the main staircase leading to the second floor. The upper portion was used as a storage area. The rear of *La Grande Maison* was occupied by the caretaker and

his family. [Translation][46]

Equipment

The equipment of *La Grande Maison* under the régime of Mathew Bell is virtually unknown to us. Just two facts are worthy of attention: when Mathew Bell took possession of the keys of *La Grande Maison*, it contained no furniture except four cast-iron stoves. This we learn from the inventory of Conrad Gugy's goods. His goods were inventoried and sold with the exception of this article: "en outre a la maison principale des dittes forges quatre poëles de fer qui appartiennent au roy."[47]

Subsequently, Mathew Bell furnished this house. The superintendent was accommodated in *La Grande Maison*. He had for his use a furnished room, which, to judge from the inventory of Zacharie MacAulay's goods, had only one chest of drawers, two liqueur cabinets, some clothes and books.[48]

Once more we must turn to the inventory of Conrad Gugy's goods, to learn, for once at least in the history of the ironworks, the furniture and articles with which *La Grande Maison* was equipped. For this is the only document which describes and permits us to visualize the smallest objects in each of the rooms. During the French régime, the inventory of 1741 had at least the advantage of revealing the bulk of the house's contents, particularly the goods in store. However, it was prepared by the king's delegate, Guillaume Estèbe and is not drawn up according to the entire ritual usual with a notary and is guilty of several omissions.

Let us go back to the main house of Conrad Gugy during the years 1783-86. What furnishings and articles were found there?

Mr. Robert Brydon's bedroom:

A bed consisting of a small bedstead, a valance (furnished with calico curtains) and bed linen as well as a table used as a desk, were the two articles of furniture reserved for the use of the chief clerk. In this room there was a display of 148 yards of material, mainly cloth and calico. It was the area reserved for bolts of cloth and also women's footwear (67 pairs of shoes). The room was certainly warm and dry for salt and tallow were stored there.

Store:

Neither armoire, shelf nor counter are mentioned but one can readily imagine the stack of boxes and shelves of all sizes. It was in a way a haberdashery department, with some clothes and small articles, even steel and iron.

Attic:

A bedstead and a straw mattress constituted all the furniture of this room which was used at the same time as a lumber room and a storage room for oats (23 *minots*).

Second Attic:

Heavy articles were piled here: cast-iron utensils made at the ironworks, axle sleeves for carriage wheels, shafts for big wheels, scales; 55 *minots* of oats and 25 quintals (hundred weights) of flour were also stored here.

Small room:

There was a pile of cast-iron utensils, products of the ironworks, as well as axle sleeves for carriage wheels.

Small room:

A folding bed equipped with bed linen and a table made up the furniture of this room. Chains, cables and pulleys were piled in a corner in it.

Cellar:

One visualizes all the cooperage on display: quarts of vinegar, barrels of lamp oil, tuns of molasses, barrels or casks or tuns of wine as well as tuns of salt pork.

Small room:

There was a very comfortable bed in this room; consisting of a bedstead, a valance of green wool moiré and ample bed linen. The bed curtains matched the coverlet (narrow blanket for the feet) made of calico and two curtains for the window also of green wool moiré. Near the bed a mahogany bureau, a little oval mirror and a tantalus completed the furniture provided for Mr. Gugy on his visits.

Small room:

A small place to rest which contained only a folding bed with its bed linen and a coverlet of quilted calico.

Large room:

In this large room, near the fireplace one found one armchair and six mahogany chairs covered with a checked material. On the table or the ledge of the mantle were tea boxes of mahogany and of painted tinplate, porcelain cups and saucers, a crystal carafe and silver spoons. This room and the preceding were the best furnished and most comfortable. They were the show rooms for the master of the house.

Room:

A pine table and 12 straw chairs indicate that the room was used for eating and daily meals. The tableware was of earthenware, faience, glass and crystal. Bed and table linen were kept in the built-in armoire in the wall.

Kitchen:

All kitchen equipment was kept here: utensils to prepare and cook food on the hearth, utensils to make butter and candles, wooden tubs for the laundry, also even silk brooms and brushes for the floor were jumbled together near the fireplace. Domestic duties were both considerable and varied. If only for the preparation and cooking of food, the range of utensils suggests a variety of ways of preparing dishes - e.g. roasted (roasting spit, larding-pins, hooks, gridiron, dripping-pan), fried (frying pan), steamed and boiled (cooking pots, *culplats*, basin, saucepans, fish boilers). There was also an ample supply of serving dishes and cutlery: soup-tureen, dishes, sauce-boats and plates of faience, knives and forks with bone handles and pewter spoons were used to set the table, which was covered with a linen tablecloth. Furniture was not so plentiful in the kitchen. Four old wooden-seat chairs, two benches and a bed (for the servant) were the only furniture.

Environment

A series of service buildings were connected with *La Grande Maison*: bakery, sheds, stables, and possibly a barn or stable. The illustrations show the buildings but do not identify their function, (Figs. 2-6). The inventory of 1807, in describing the state of the buildings, does not follow the sequence in which they were situated.

In 1977 archaeological digs uncovered a rectangular structure, 2.74 m x 3.44 m, to a depth of 2.55 m, 1.68 m from the kitchen gable.[49] It would appear that this was an ice-house from the days of the French, mentioned in the 1746 and 1748 inventories. It might have been converted into a shed, at least in Gugy's time. The inventory of the latter's property refers to "a petit hangard joignant la maison principale."[50] In Bell's day this was no doubt a shed, there being no mention of any ice-house in the material available.

North of this structure was the bakery, equipped as follows:

.objects for making bread: one small scale, with copper basins and six and a half pounds of iron weights, one sieve made of brass wire, one

> kneading trough and one dough knife
> Two old ladies and two old cloths for covering the bread
> .utensils for baking bread: one oven peel and one iron fire rake
> .fireplace equipment: one iron shovel and one poker, one large kettle and trivet
> Two old axes
> .Heating equipment: one iron stove and six lengths of pipe [Translation][51]

The baker at the time was Charles Lacommande dit Lalancette[52] who was to remain in the service of *La Grande Maison* and of the workers until his death in 1810.[53] Mathew Bell replaced him in turn with Louis Dugré, Joseph Peterson Sr., and Jr. and Edouard Huot.[54]

The environs of *La Grande Maison* on its plateau had been entirely cleared. Originally the trees had been used to build houses and other structures. Clearing continued as a protection against fire, around *La Grande Maison* as elsewhere. The south and east sides were surrounded by a fence and some bushes. These appear in Arthur Pigott's 1845 painting (Fig. 2). There was a garden near the house but unfortunately its exact location cannot be determined. Evidence on this point is provided by a case of petty theft involving Catherine Dehaigle, wife of Pierre Auget, a carter, resident at Les Forges. She had been charged with stealing cabbages - "Volé des choux dans le jardin de Mathew Bell" in October 1797.[55] In addition a gardener, John Mendesse, was in charge of the garden of *La Grande Maison*.[56]

Special Activities

There were indeed special activities at *La Grande Maison*. These were to become in time legendary. Mathew Bell, generous and hospitable by nature, seems to have enjoyed a life of real luxury, worthy of an English lord. His house was a showplace where he was proud to entertain friends and visitors. The Abbé Caron, a former missionary at Les Forges, can be quoted in this connection:

> The iron mines made an enormous profit in those days, and Mr. Bell lived like a lord. He associated with all the most distinguished people in the province, the governor himself frequently came for dinner, and there was a special room in *La Grande Maison* for the governor, a beautiful room, royally furnished. When the governor arrived at Les Forges, his horses would pull up and Mr. Bell's employees

> would carry him on their shoulders up to the room that had been prepared for him. The food matched the reception. [Translation][57]

Workmen shared in Mathew Bell's largesse. To quote the Abbé Caron once more:

> The people shared in Mr. Bell's favours as well: from time to time, a large room located above the governor's room would be opened to the workmen, and the festivities would continue well into the night. [Translation][58]

Of all these parties and receptions, what has most impressed people and remained in their memory was fox hunting. The Abbé Caron provides some very interesting details:

> But what people remember most are the exploits of the Tally Ho Hunt Club. Mr. Bell had special buildings where he kept several hundred foxes, hunting dogs and horses. At certain times of the year, his aristocratic friends would get together; each one would take a horse and a number of dogs: they would release the foxes in the fields just outside Three Rivers, and then the horsemen would enjoy an aristocratic hunt. They would ride after the foxes, through fields covered with rich harvests, crossing ditches and leaping fences: it was a splendid and superb recreation. Once the foxes had been captured, the daring hunters and their baying hounds would return to Les Forges: then all Mr. Bell had to do was buy new foxes the next fall. However, there was one other thing to be done. The next day, one of his employees would stop at every house in the area: How much do you want for the damage caused by yesterday's hunt? They would decide on a price, and the man would pay it in good hard cash. [Translation][59]

When Benjamin Sulte wrote his book on the history of the Saint-Maurice ironworks, wanting to check up on the legendary accounts concerning these hunts, he went to Montreal to meet the servant who looked after the hounds.

> (In 1829, Matthew Bell) sold his pack of hounds to a club in Montreal which still (in 1865) owns their descendants. I knew the Negro slave who took care of them and, in 1865, I met him running a restaurant in St. Catharines, at the foot of the Welland Canal. He ... told me stories about Les Forges, half legend, half true, and particularly about the parties and amusements of the gentry who visited the area, winter and summer alike, to enjoy Mr. Bell's hospitality. [Translation][60]

THE DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE WORKERS

Housing

In the same way as the directors of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice under the French régime, the lessees of the establishment under British rule carried on the tradition of providing housing for the workers.

Number of Dwellings

In 1741, as one will recall, the ironworks company owned 14 dwellings used for lodging workers and foremen. This number increased to 24 in 1760. Forty-seven years later, the inventory of Les Forges, carried out at the request of Mathew Bell and David Munro, mentions 28 dwellings, comprising 14 houses or buildings belonging to Les Forges, and 14 other small houses built by day labourers and workmen.[1] In 1825, a census in Lower Canada reported the existence of 55 houses belonging to the company.[2] No details are provided. Does this indicate houses or lodgings? Do they belong to Les Forges or to the workmen? Have they been built by the lessees of the station or by the workmen?

As we see, these two facts alone are insufficient to establish the number of houses under Mathew Bell's administration, 1793 to 1845. The inventory of 1807 refers to the condition of 14 dwellings belonging to the station. Almost all required repairs or reconstruction. We are not aware, from our documentation, whether any of this work was completed. Only an archaeological examination would be able to provide further data. In another connection, the inventory furnishes us with an interesting piece of information: it is the reference to 14 houses being built by the workers. This fact is not new; we suspect this practice existed under the French régime. This detail proves that the practice continued, and did so until the Bell period. But apart from the workers building a residence near their place of work, some inhabitants also settled on company land. On 6 September 1824, Mathew Bell wrote to the Civil Secretary, Andrew Cochrane, concerning trespassing on company property by people from Yamachiche who cut wood there and even developed farms.[3] He had notices posted forbidding these actions and even went so far as to make arrests without winning his case. The local people believed that Bell, as lessee, could not drive them from the land, and that if they stayed there long enough, the government would grant them the land. Bell requested government help to win back the use of this land, if not he would lose the large expanse of territory included in his lease. Bell evidently did not receive any reply, since he sent a summons to six Yamachiche residents to quit Les Forges' property.[4] Moreover, on 29 May 1827, he complained once again to Cochrane, and repeated his demand for government help to expel the intruders.[5] This makes us very aware of the complicated nature of the residential property at Les Forges.

Occupants

Who was entitled to lodging in the company town of Les Forges and who actually lived there? The general rule was that all the permanent workers, whether skilled or day labourers, lived at Les Forges. For certain people, specifically artisans, the privilege was spelled out in their contract. This was the case for the furnace keeper Joseph Houle (Jean-Claude),[6] the joiners Louis Pépin and Jean-Baptiste Gagnon,[7] the carpenters Charles Savarre and Jean-Baptiste Guitson,[8] the blacksmiths Jean-Baptiste Fraser and Etienne Bellerive,[9] as well as the day labourer François Robert.[10] All did not enjoy the same favoured treatment: the hiring of two day labourers in 1819 carries the entry "sans logement ni nourriture."[11] As for seasonal workers, they came from neighbouring parishes and did not settle at Les Forges.

One notes a great mobility among the working population. Some, settled in Three Rivers, rented their home and set up house at Les Forges, as did André Cook.[12] William Kenyon lived at Les Forges while his family resided at Three Rivers.[13] Some workmen employed at the ironworks lived outside the area at the time of their or their wife's death as was the case with the joiner Joseph Comeau-Chailloux of Pointe-du-Lac,[14] of the blacksmith Firmin Comeau,[15] and of the day labourer Joseph Houle,[16] all from Three Rivers. Several workers owned land in Three Rivers (among them Anderson, Lacommande dit Lalancette, Lewis, Joseph Raymond, Cook, Sawyer, Fraser[17]) or in the neighbourhood (among others Houle, Lamothe, Michelin). Others built themselves a house in Three Rivers (among others Imbleau, Slicer, André and Nicolas Robichon[18]). These properties represented an investment, a source of rental income, a piece of land on which to raise livestock or till the soil (the case with Houle and Michelin) or a place to which they could retire.

Note that in 1829, the population census at Les Forges, prepared by Mathew Bell, included only two retired blacksmiths.[19]

Generally speaking, the workman only lived at Les Forges during the time he worked there. Once he retired, he settled on a piece of land or in Three Rivers.

Types of Dwellings

All that we know of the dwelling, or more properly, house or lodging, of the workers under Mathew Bell's administration, we owe to the only inventory of Les Forges during this period, which was prepared in 1807.[20] This was drawn up at Mathew Bell's and David Munro's request on the occasion of the adjudication of a 20-year lease in order to determine the condition of the outbuildings of the establishment.

The inventory lists the 14 buildings reserved for the workmen, records the dimensions of each, the occupation of the inhabitant, describes its condition and the time it was built by different owners or lessors. From this information, we can identify three types of dwellings: the single-family house, the multi-family house and the lodging house comprising two to five lodgings.

From the terminology used in the inventory of 1807, we note a distinction between the multi-family house and the lodging house. In the first case, the word house is used and in the second, the preferred expressions are "cinq maisons d'un seul corps," "deux maisons d'un seul corps," or "un Batiment Servant de plusieurs logements."[21] The multi-family house indicates that the building was occupied by several persons or families who shared the rooms or service areas, such as the corner for cooking food occupied by the hearth and stove. This was the case particularly in the forgemen's house (30 ft x 40 ft) dating from the French régime and which, at this period, consisted of a single fireplace and a limited number of partitions dividing the rooms. Unfortunately, the inventory of 1807 provides no detail on the rooms, the partitions or the fireplaces. The lodging unit provided each family with its own lodging. Such was, at any rate, the usage during the French régime.

Just as in the French régime, there was a hierarchical relationship between the workman's social status and his type of dwelling. The single-family house was occupied by a skilled workman: the master carpenter, the moulder, the foreman, the quarryman, the filler. Moreover, the carpenter, the master moulder and the foreman possessed a larger dwelling (30 x 20 ft) than the moulder (20 x 20 ft) the quarryman (25 x 12 ft) and the filler (20 x 15 ft). The lodging units were occupied either by specialized workmen or by day labourers. However, even there the largest dwelling

Table 12. Types of workers dwellings

Houses	Dimensions (ft)	Occupants
Single-family houses:		
1	30 x 20	master carpenter
1	15 x 15	-
1	13 x 20	master moulder
1	20 x 20	moulder
1	30 x 20	foreman
1	25 x 12	quarryman
1	20 x 15	filler
Multi-family houses:		
1	50 x 20	carters
1	30 x 40	smiths
1	50 x 20	carters and day labourers
Lodging house:		
1 of 5 lodgings	80 x 23	carters
1 of 2 lodgings	40 x 20	carpenter
1 of 7 lodgings	100 x 20	founder, helpers and moulders
1 of 2 lodgings	40 x 20	two moulders

20 x 20 feet, belonged to the moulder (two houses in one 40 x 20 ft) and to the carpenter: the carters' dwelling only measured 16 x 23 feet (5 houses in a single unit, 80 x 23 ft). According to this scale of values one may conclude that the "Batiment Servant de plusieurs logemens" of 100 x 20 feet, comprised five lodgings of 20 x 20 feet for the founder, two furnace keepers and two moulders. As for the multi-family dwelling, it is difficult to make a judgment since the inventory does not state the number of occupants. Arrangements for sharing a house however, combined people in the same jobs or related jobs: on the one hand the carters and moulders, on the other hand the forgemen (*Marteleurs* and *chauffeurs*) the workmen on the blast-furnace (founders, furnace keepers and moulders), the carters and day labourers.

State of Dwellings

According to the inventory of 1807, the majority of dwellings belonging to the ironworks establishment required repair or even rebuilding. Five houses, built before 1787 were in very poor condition and required renovation, particularly the forgemen's house at the lower forge which was falling into ruins. Four houses had been built during Alexander Davidson's and John Lees' administrations (1787-93). Among these, three needed repair. Of the houses built during Mathew Bell's and David Munro's administrations, four were in good condition and one in mediocre state. We know that Les Forges' inventory of 1807 had been prepared in order to assess the state of the outbuildings of Les Forges for the handover of the keys after the expiry of the 20-year lease. This may partly explain the gloomy picture of the state of the dwellings. Another factor is the temporary character of the dwellings, built or maintained by directors operating from one lease to another, and occupied by workmen who may have been very mobile. This temporary character was also noticed and recorded in the Executive Council's report in 1843:

> It is stated that the only residents of St. Maurice are the common workmen who live in shanties, or small log houses, the construction of which is not intended for permanent residence.[32]

We do not know if the repairs and reconstruction, noted in the inventory, were completed. One may suppose, however, that Mathew Bell's administration provided for the upkeep of the dwellings. At least, the appearances were good, if one may judge from the report of a visitor in 1829. Thus, Walter Henry, the army surgeon visiting Les Forges in company with Mathew Bell, does not stint on praise:

> Mr. Bell's workmen appeared contented and comfortable; they occupied good cottages, with a small plot of garden attached to each.[23]

These dwellings were of log construction *pièces sur pièces*, set, in most cases, on a stone foundation, as archaeological excavations reveal.[24] The inventory provides no descriptive information on the structure itself, its openings, internal divisions and fireplaces.

Environment

Les Forges townsite contained work, living and service areas, which crisscrossed each other, arranged in a grouping around one pole (e.g. the blast-furnace), or along an axis (e.g. the road leading to the charcoal stacks).

In reviewing the inventory of 1807, we can number among the working buildings a blast-furnace, two forges, one moulding shop, one lime furnace, four workshops (blacksmith and carpenter) one flour mill and one sawmill; among the service buildings a bakery, nine roofed storage areas, three sheds, a barn and three stables. There were 28 residential buildings. Their organization is largely revealed to us by documents and illustrations. A tinted drawing, dating from the beginning of the 19th century and a painting by Arthur Pigott in 1845 enable us to visualize the collection of buildings on the plateau; a watercolour of Thomas Chaplin in 1842, as well as a tinted drawing of 1844 by an unknown artist, show us the lower part of the plateau (Figs. 2-5). From these documents we can describe the use of the different buildings. Thus, *La Grande Maison* located on the east of the plateau, was surrounded by the bakery, sheds and stables. To the west of these, next to one another, were dwellings, workshops, stables, sheds. A moulding shop, roofed storage areas, sheds and dwellings were located near the blast-furnace. Along the roads leading to the charcoal stacks were rows of houses, stables and markets.

The illustrations, however, are not of good quality and although they give us fine overviews of the whole scene, and convey the atmosphere of these parts, the detail is poor. Thus, we are not well informed about the small and large buildings used by the workers. Domestic life required, according to each person's needs and means, the use of a whole series of buildings. For human conveniences, rooms or buildings such as that associated with dairy products, the baking oven, the latrines and the well, needed to be close to the house; for the care of animals, the stable, the cow-shed, the hen-house, the pigsty, the barn. Of course, all these buildings were not indispensable, and one may have served many functions. What were they used for in the workmen's community at Les Forges? Only three inventories, prepared after the death of workers, provide some details. Thus, the moulder Jean Terreau (1830 inv.), the furnace keeper François Pellerin (1845 inv.) and the forest ranger Joseph Michelin (1851 inv.), had at their disposal a dairy (possibly next to the house) and a cow-shed.[25]

Turning to the physical environment, if the clearing of the area had made room for houses and buildings, it had also been replaced by gardens and pastureland. For the majority of the working families raised animals and did some gardening, it goes without saying, on a small scale, in order to satisfy their food requirements. Inventories after death show this. Travellers' accounts always mention the workers' little gardens, e.g. those of John Lambert and Walter Henry.[26] These activities indicate the use of the environs for gardening and grazing areas in summer, for pasturage in winter, as well as for hay storage. We can see, in Arthur Pigott's painting in 1845, the fences enclosing these areas (Figs. 32, 33).

Interior Appointments

Before examining the whole range of domestic equipment, such as the furniture and the thousand and one articles of daily life, it would be good to glance at the house's interior itself: that is, the rooms, their number and function, as well as the appearance of walls, ceilings, floors and finally elements of comfort such as heating and lighting.

We recall that under the French régime, half the dwellings, mainly the houses and lodging units, had two rooms, single-room lodgings being typical of the shacks. Life was concentrated around the fireplace, where the principal activities, mainly those connected with eating, took place. The household was heated by the fireplace, supplemented by the stove. Walls and floors appeared rather bare; there are few references to curtains on the windows, pictures or religious objects, and no mention of carpets. What was it like at the beginning of the 19th century and more precisely between 1793 and 1845?

Number of Rooms

The inventory of Les Forges in 1807, even when it mentions workers' houses, does not tell us anything about the interiors. The inventories after death provide some data, although, in general, they omit any reference to the house, the worker being a tenant there. Evidently, the few details obtained about houses cover more than one room.

From the inventory we note that the houses contained two or three rooms, if one counts the dairy (assuming it constitutes a room and not a building). However, the workers living at Three Rivers enjoyed a larger number of rooms - four or five excluding the loft and the workshop. In the case of the other workers' houses on the ironworks site, and taking into account the amount of furniture, one might indeed assume that two rooms were used. However, an article in the newspaper, *Journal des Trois-Rivières* recounts a visit to Les Forges and to St. Etienne in 1865 and describes the inhabitants in this way:

> The houses are built of wood and earth. Generally, the house consists of a single room, with the parents' bedchamber being separated by a curtain. [Translation][27]

Table 13. References to rooms in inventories after deaths

Name, Year of Inventory, Place Of Residence	Reference to Rooms	Functions of Room Described According to Furniture
P.N. Robichon, 1807 Les Forges	entrance hall	cooking, eating, living
	bedroom	sleeping
J. Terreau, 1830 Les Forges	main room*	cooking, living eating, sleeping
	first room	storage
	attic	storage
	dairy	dairy produce
F. Pellerin, 1845 Les Forges	main room*	cooking, eating, living, sleeping
	dairy	dairy produce, storage
J. Michelin, 1851 Les Forges	main room*	cooking, eating, living
	bedroom	sleeping
	dairy, attic, cellar	dairy products, storage
W. Kenyon, 1809 Three Rivers	room	eating, living, sleeping
	kitchen	cooking
	small room near kitchen	pantry, storage
	attic	storage
F. Comeau, 1821 Three Rivers	reception room	eating, living
	very small room	washing
	small room	sleeping
	entrance hall	eating, living
	kitchen	cooking
	attic	sleeping, storage
A. Cook, 1853 Three Rivers	room*	eating, living
	small room	sleeping
	entrance hall	cooking, eating, living
	upstairs	sleeping
	attic	storage

* Main room: first room inventoried, sometimes not specified by notary - generally the entrance hall.

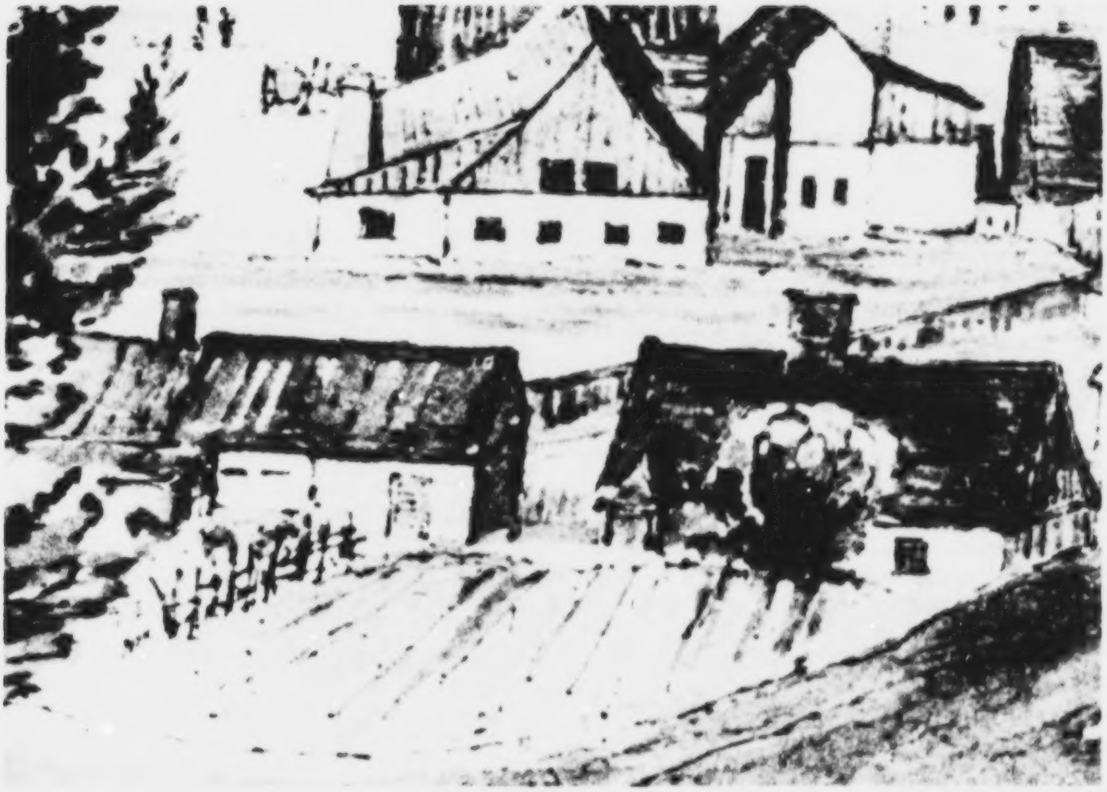


Figure 32. Fenced domestic enclosures, possibly forming gardening or grazing areas.

Utilization of Space

In the list of rooms, several terms are used to describe them: hall area, hall, room, chamber, first chamber, reception room, kitchen, small room, upper part, loft, cellar, dairy. The terms room and chamber, still, at the end of the 18th century, and in the course of the first half of the 19th century, suggest a main room where food could be prepared, eaten and where people could attend to a myriad of activities, including sleeping (e.g., Terreau's inv. 1807, and Pellerin's of 1845). This room was the centre of domestic life. A marriage contract between Nicolas Robichon, forgeman at the ironworks and Marie-Louis Terreault concluded in 1808, describes a room which the married couple reserved for itself, in the event of one of them dying:

> ... shall have in addition clothing, personal effects and linen for his or her use,

> together with a complete bed and furnished room, consisting of one table, six chairs, one armchair, two pots, one kettle, one sideboard, one mirror ... [Translation][28]

But when people had more than one room, they were apt to consider the second room as a place to rest, thus conferring a special privacy to the period after dark. This was important, no doubt, in this period, when in comparison with a half-century earlier, ideas of intimacy and comfort became dominant. The same phenomenon occurred in rural France in the course of the 19th century, as noted by Albert Goursaud in his study of Limousin.

> The desire for greater comfort, together with more highly developed appreciation of the rules of hygiene and decency, led to the removal of the bed from the common room into the storeroom, which thus became an actual bedroom. [Translation][29]

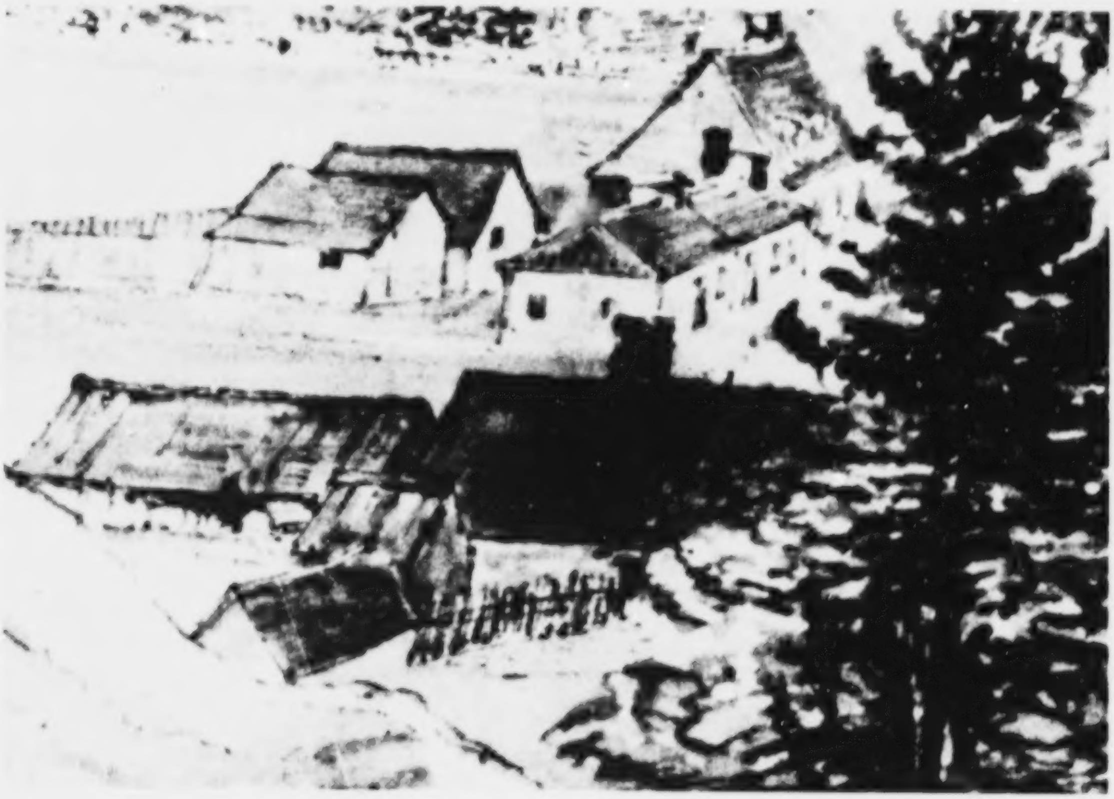


Figure 33. Fenced domestic enclosures, possibly forming gardening or grazing areas.

The small room was generally used as much as a place of rest as a place to store things. The kitchen, designated, appropriately, a place to prepare and cook food. As we see it, we cannot attribute to the terminology of the period the modern meaning we give to the rooms today. When all is said and done, the terminology is complex and adapts itself to individual situations or to the ideas of the person involved. From the few samples, just seven inventories, we can try and understand the workers' ideas about, and use of, living space. At Robichon's, Terreau's and Michelin's, all the activities of daily family life, and even night life in the Terreau's case, took place in the main room. A second room was used for resting, with the exception of the Terreaus, where it appears to have been a place to store or dump things. The three workmen, living at Three Rivers, had a greater number of rooms. Notwithstanding this, at Kenyons' most of the activities of family life took place in one room, the living room; they ate and slept there and their furniture for storing articles was kept there. The kitchen was specifically reserved for preparing and cooking food and the small adjoining room was used for storing supplies of food. The second room only contained a bureau and two tables: one may conclude that it was the parents' bedroom, not recorded in the inventory, according to a clause in the marriage contract. At Comeaus', we notice the functions of the rooms were more specifically identified: two rooms for sleeping, one room for cooking and a small room, used no doubt as a bathroom, since there was a wash-basin and a table. The widow Comeau's will tells us about the use of another room - the bedroom of the testatrix.[30] In this interior we have a clearer division of the rooms and above all, a greater freedom of movement than in the interiors of other workmen. The reception room, even if it fulfilled the same function as the hall/entrance room (eating and sleeping), provided more comfort: there was a stove, sofa and clock, a sign of the fashion of the time. At Cook's, in spite of the number of rooms, the use of each room was clearly defined as between activity and resting. During the day, the family used the two rooms, the entrance room for eating, working and recreation. The entrance room served equally for preparing and cooking food. At night, the family shared the small room and the top of the house (first floor) for resting. Now what did these rooms look like?

Walls, Ceilings and Floors

If we know little of the workers' housing as such and the divisions of the interiors, we know nothing about the interior decoration, whether it be the wall covering, the ceilings or the floors. As for the paint used to cover the walls, we may certainly suppose whitewash was used, as it was less expensive than oil paint and easy to apply. Only one reference to paint and painting articles has been found in inventories prepared after death: 11½ pounds white paint and lampblack (valued at 1L 10s) as well as a bleacher (J. Terreau inv. 1830). This paint could be used just as well for interior as for exterior finish of walls, as it could for furniture. Jean Terreau, incidentally, owned a sideboard painted white. As for the lampblack it was generally used for ironwork. Moreover, the bleacher was primarily used for applying whitewash to the walls.

In several workmen's interiors we do find, however, on the walls, mirrors, framed pictures, prints, pictures, portraits, a calendar, a holy-water basin and shelves for storage. In 21 interiors, large and small mirrors decorated the walls (unless the small mirror turns out to be merely a table mirror) and in 13 other interiors framed pictures, prints, pictures, portraits, statues and niches embellished the walls. Only three inventories note the absence of these articles. The notary's language often employs the metonymic word "frame" which may indicate a distinction between a framed work and another simply pinned up on the wall. The nature of the picture is not specified, with one exception which is referred to as "a flower portrait."[31] This detail suggests that the word "portrait" could also describe a still life. Certain framed pictures were painted: thus the interior of the Gauthier house contained four "frames" painted yellow and two painted black. These references to painting apply equally to the mirror frames, which in this house were painted red.[32]

The walls were often embellished with curtains, concealing or setting off openings. We do not know if these were found in each interior because the inventories do not list them all, with eight exceptions. However, they did not amount to an extravagant expense, the price of one curtain ranging from 4s to 1L 4s. Generally hung in pairs, they were opaque (calico, blue serge, white cotton) or as a day-curtain (muslin). We can try to deduce the number of openings by the references to these curtains, but we must not forget the small size of the sample. Further were the curtains referred to all hung at windows? Why do we find in Grenier's house three pairs of curtains in the loft (this loft was used as a bedroom and storeroom) and four curtain rods in the little room.[33]

Heating

The evolution of domestic heating paralleled the adaptation to a severe climate. By the end of the French régime, the use of the stove was widespread.

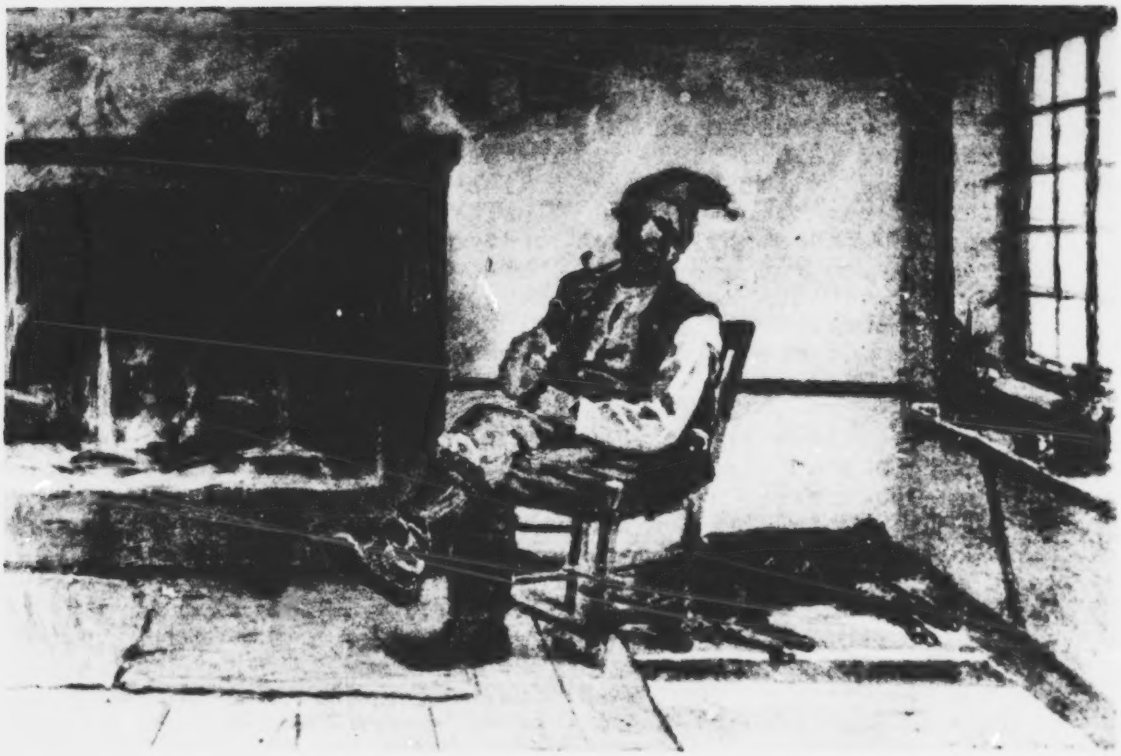


Figure 34. *Canadien* smoking a pipe at his fireside. Dressed in cloth breeches, shirt and jacket with leather boots and wearing a hat, he is seated close to the fireside, heart of domestic life. On the fireplace the pot-hanger epitomizes the use of the hearth for cooking. On the mantlepiece are some lights. A crucifix, picture and Easter palm hang on the wall.

> From the Conquest to Confederation, this evolution continued, but in a new form, that of change and innovation. [Translation][34]

The changes and innovations were, according to Marcel Moussette, due to the arrival of the British who introduced grills in the fireplace, and also to the importation of Scottish stoves. From 1820 and 1830 onwards, the influence of the industrialized New England states made itself felt with the arrival in the country of the fashionable American stoves and also of heaters and cooking stoves.

> In the decade from 1835 to 1845, we find 69 manufacturers or inventors of heating devices in Upper Canada and 25 in Lower Canada. [Translation][35]

These novelties were adopted primarily in the urban areas. What was the situation in Les Forges du Saint-Maurice?

If we compare the post-mortem inventories of workers under the French régime and those of the period 1793-1845, we notice a resemblance to the end of the 18th century, and a slow evolution in the course of the first half of the 19th century.

At the end of the French régime, we have seen that each workman used both the fire in the hearth and the stove for heating purposes. The stove was private property or else belonged to the company which provided firewood to the workmen. In Bell's time, the fireplace was still used, but the stove was becoming more and more important; it was no longer an adjunct to the fire, but was gradually being used for cooking.

The utensils provide these data. At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, we still observe in the inventories of deceased persons references to the pot-hanger (Anderson inv. and Moussette inv.), to the andirons (J.B. Gilbert inv.), and to the bellows (Anderson inv.). In 1830, the andirons were more likely to be stored in the loft (Terreau inv.). However, we must treat these fireplace instruments with caution as their omission does not always signify their absence. The pot-hanger and andirons were sometimes considered as being part of the fireplace, and as a result, of the house itself, and for this reason were not subject to appraisal. In the case of shovels, pincers, poker and tongs, they were used as much for the fireplace as the stove. Their presence does not indicate anything particular about the use of the fireplace or the stove. Utensils for cooking food provide much information on the subject. We shall return to the subject in the chapter on food, but do point out that at the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century, gridirons and roasting spits were still numerous. Later they gave way, gradually, to an increased number of cauldrons, cooking pots and saucepans. Cooking by braising or roasting in the embers lost its importance during this same period. At the same time that the cooking utensils changed, there was a corresponding change from the hearth to the stove and by 1845, the stove took preeminence over the hearth.

Generally, workmen used only one stove in their house. Where the notary did not list it in the inventory, the workman owned the stovepipe or firewood (Sawyer inv.; Rivard inv.; Terreau inv.; Cochrane inv.; Pellerin inv.; Michelin inv.). This leads us to think that certain dwellings were equipped with a stove, possibly provided by the ironworks company or rented from somebody, because, at this period, the stove was still, as under the French régime, lent or rented. Thus Charles Lacommande dit Lalancette owned, at home, a cast-iron stove which belonged to François and the Firmin Comeau inventory in 1821 mentions a stove of two and a half feet equipped with an ash-box now at André Pothier's (Lacommande inv.; Comeau inv.). Some workmen used two

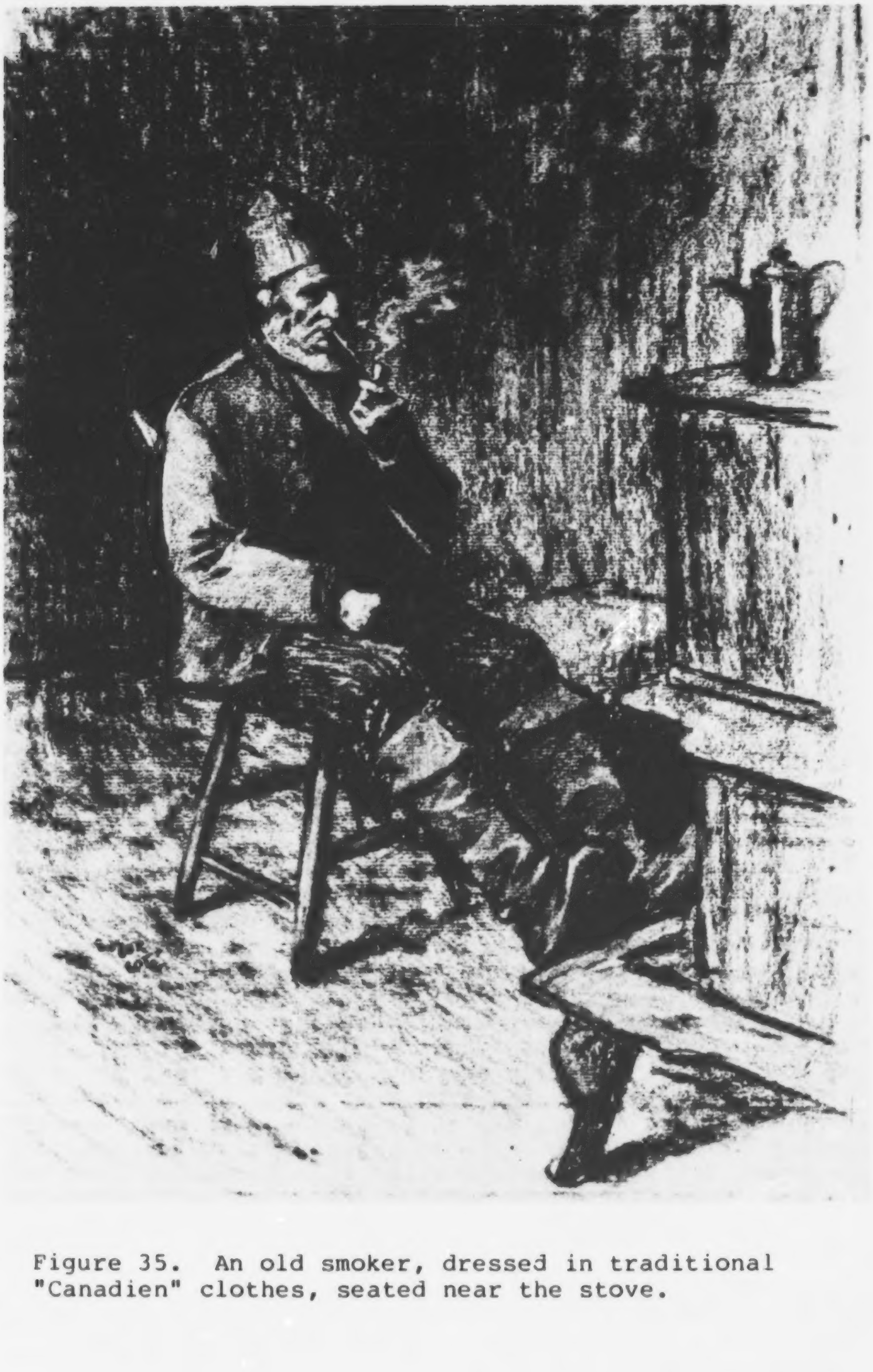


Figure 35. An old smoker, dressed in traditional "Canadien" clothes, seated near the stove.

stoves (Moussette inv.; Comeau inv.; Raymond inv.) and one even owned four, one of which was however, broken (Cook inv., Three Rivers).

It was the cast-iron stove, in box form, two or three and a half feet in size, most frequently found in the interior of the workmen's houses. Brick stoves are not mentioned and only one sheet metal stove is listed (Comeau inv.). We also note the use of a two-tiered stove, which is called "poêle double," (Robichon inv.; Lewis inv.; Raymond inv.; Gendreau inv.; Gauthier inv.; Cook inv.). This stove, box-shaped, with an oven on top, appeared in the third quarter of the 18th century. It came from Scotland, from London and even, more rarely from France, as one inventory states "un poêle double français cassé" (Cook inv.). It was also manufactured at Les Forges.

The stove was generally located near the fireplace, as shown by the length of the pipe, usually constructed of five lengths. Further, it was assuming, at this period, a permanent place in the house, which confirms its use for cooking. It was no longer, as was the case under the French régime, dismantled in summer and stored in the loft.

In his study on heating, Marcel Moussette notes that the British, according to their letters, personal diaries and accounts of their travels, preferred the fireplace and, in a way, rejected the stove.[36] What was the situation with the anglophone workmen at Les Forges? Not being numerous, the close contact with the French Canadians, who used stoves, undoubtedly influenced them. They did indeed imitate them; at least, that is what the analysis of their post-mortem inventories suggests; as to furniture we can discern no difference between the two groups.

Was the firewood provided by the company, as under the French régime? Everything led one to believe this was so, if one were to judge from the remarks of Lord Selkirk in his diary of 10 February 1804: "They cut 12,000 Cords of Wood of which about 2,000 for the use of workmen."[37] Nevertheless, some workmen were obliged to build up some reserves of wood (Robichon inv.; Lewis inv.; Rivard inv.; Terreau inv.). In the course of the first half of the 19th century, the stove played a more and more dominant role in heating the home. But the stove, like the fireplace, in addition to providing heat and comfort to the occupants of the house, was always the central focus of domestic life. It was around the domestic fire, whether that of a stove or a fireplace, that people gathered to work, play or rest. John Lambert, who visited the place in 1808, noted that men often spent the night sleeping next to the stove or the fireplace.[38] Even though the stove diffused heat more evenly through the room and made it possible for the occupants to remain some distance away from the source of heat, it remained like the open fireplace the symbol and centre of domestic life.

Lighting

During the day light entered through the windows, about whose numbers, unfortunately, we have no information, making it impossible to say whether there was indeed enough light for domestic pursuits. Obviously an open fire did add to the lighting of the room.

At dusk extra lighting was required to supplement that of the fire, especially during the short days of winter, for evening meals and *veillées*. Workmen toiled from dawn to dusk, as John Lambert notes in 1808," ... those who cast and finish the stoves & c. work from sunrise to sunset which is the usual time among French Canadians all year round."[39] There were lighting fixtures of various kinds in all houses, the importance of which is evidenced by *donations*: "une chambre chauffée et éclairée"[40]: "12 lbs de chandelle (par année)."[41]

Candlelight was the preferred form of lighting. No household was without one or two candlesticks, lanterns of tinplate being used out of doors. Candles were either of commercial manufacture or produced at home. The only reference to candlemolds is in the John Anderson inventory, where one has listed, in addition to 12 such and a box (of pewter), three pounds of candles. This implies that candles were made by dipping. But these could also be purchased from the company store, as in the days of Vézin or Gugy (1741 and 1786 inv.). Snuffers and their holders were still in use. As for oil lamps they were as yet few in number. We have only three references to these (Anderson inv., Lewis inv., Michelin inv.).

Equipment

At the turn of the 19th century and throughout the first half of that century, a striking variety of furniture and other items of domestic equipment appeared on the scene with a number of consequences.

Clearly families were not as poor as they had been under the French régime. But a new spirit was abroad, even though changes were as yet minor at Les Forges in comparison to the larger towns of Lower Canada. This was translated in practice by an increasing concern for comfort, above and beyond the mere satisfaction of basic needs as was the case 50 years before.

This abundance of domestic goods is reflected in post-mortem inventories. Most of these no longer refer to the number of rooms in a house. While the notary did often begin by recording those things found near the fireplace or stove, it is difficult to follow him around. As often as not furniture was inventoried by group or type, then came utensils, clothing, etc. It is hard to locate each piece of furniture or each article in the household, and for this reason we have not been able to provide an outline of the organization of the interior at this period, as we tried to do for the interiors during the French régime.

Domestic Articles and Their Value

Domestic articles listed in the post-mortem inventories, have been collated and grouped in ten categories (Table 14).

We afterwards calculated the value of the items in each category as well as the total value of the articles shown in Table 15. This enables us to assess the importance accorded to this or that sort of domestic article, thus showing the preferences, the needs or the means of each workman. Let us, however, be clear, the total value of the domestic articles was not the value of the workman's assets. Real estate, assets and liabilities have been omitted. It must be noted that sometimes, according to a clause in the marriage contract, the applicant's bed, clothes and also personal articles are listed *pour mémoire* and therefore do not appear.

Before analyzing the contents of the table, some clarification is required. Most inventories use the French *Livre* (L) of 20 *sols* as the monetary unit, up to the first quarter of the 19th century. In other cases the article is often estimated according to its French value (by the appraisers) and the equivalent in English pounds is noted in the margin of the inventory (by the notary). This reveals something of the mentality of the period. A little more than 50 years after the conquest, people still calculated in *livres* or in *sols* and also used money expressed in round figures, such as the *écu* and the *piastre*. Towards 1825, the English monetary system was increasingly adopted. At Les Forges, the habit of calculating according to the French monetary system lasted a long time and the process of conversion to the English currency was slow.

Turning to the table, it shows us the degree of importance the workman assigned to each category of domestic article. We have therefore underlined the two largest values. According to the means and needs of each person, this was the order of importance of these articles: furniture, animals, the fitted beds from the house, the carriages, the clothes and finally, bed and table linen. The inclusion of furniture, including one or more stoves is entirely justified. The beds with bed linen, without reckoning those protected by the marriage contract and not appraised, represent comfort at that period. In the case of animals, though they required a considerable investment,

Table 14. Categories of domestic articles

Ref. No.	Category	Domestic Articles
1	furniture	furniture for storing goods, chairs, tables, dough boxes stoves, clocks, mirrors
2	bed	fitted beds: bedsteads and bed linen
3	utensils	utensils for preparing, preserving and consuming food, fireplace and stove utensils
4	linen	bed linen and table linen
5	clothes	men's and women's
6	personal articles and objects for leisure and cultural use	toilet articles, arm jewellery; books, musical instruments and wall decorations
7	instruments and tools	cooperage, laundry equipment, garden tools, haberdashery, lighting
8	food supplies	cereals, meat, vegetables, fruit, drink
9	animals	cows, pigs, poultry, horses
10	transport	carriages and accessories

they provided basic subsistence while playing a part in the household economy. Carriages acquired more and more importance in the life of the time. Finally, clothes as well as bed and table linen represented for some people, one of their priorities. This is hardly different from the time of the French régime, except that during that period, the workmen possessed few if any carriages.

The total value of the articles may enable us to judge the workman's standard of living. This standard of living is that which a workman has attained at a given moment in his life (at his death or that of his wife), a moment which differs from one workman to another according to his age, family situation and job. One can therefore try to establish a relationship between property in the form of

Table 15. Value of domestic articles by categories (in french *livres* of 20 sols each)*

Name (Chronological order)	Furniture	Bed	Utensils	Linen	Clothes	Personal Articles Leisure & Cultural Objects	Instruments & Tools	Food	Animals	Transport	TOTAL(L)
Anderson**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7296
Gilbert, J.B.	104	77	31	13	105	-	4	-	-	-	343
Gilbert, A.	202	216	84	51	189	22	48	-	72	12	898
Robichon	352	-	83	181	214	18	36	29	272	241	1431
Moussette	461	120	93	131	240	33	30	31	240	240	1621
Houle	18	-	18	16	110	-	-	-	123	-	270
Kenyon											3485
Lacommande	220	156	49	31	63	-	28	24	162	-	735
Lamothe	167	204	46	40	131	13	24	-	-	213	841
Tassé	359	143	58	48	110	-	25	34	108	153	1041
Sawyer	89	86	24	-	39	12	18	1	240	199	711
Comeau	290	177	102	25	-	1	28	4	-	-	630
Lewis	300	90	70	71	7	39	70	30	384	282	1346
Raymond	321	247	56	1	-	1	9	8	-	-	703
C-Chailloux	125	-	33	36	-		15	88	233	51	588
Rivard	46	129	31	12	1	-	11	10	80	-	322
Terreau	106	156	94	32	6	3	21	104	240	195	962
Cochrane	15	6	8	85	568	-	11	18	-	-	713
Imbleau	196	102	30	57	37	20	9	71	450	204	1079
Pellerin	264	186	60	28	33	4	13	30	138	-	757
Michelin***	164	126	50	36	192	10	234	224	507	294	1839
Cook***	232	69	38	1	30		358	-	570	162	1461

The values of the two highest categories have been underlined.

* The majority of inventories use the livre of 20 *sols* as their monetary unit.

** Anderson's articles are evaluated as a lump.

*** The tools of Michelin's farm and those of the workshop belonging to Cook in Three Rivers have been included.

For greater clarity, *sols* have not been transcribed, hence variations in the totals.

domestic articles and the social status of the workman. The total value of the articles ranges from 270L to 1839L, with the exception of 7296L. A gap of 57 years separates the first from the last inventories of the period. On the other hand in Table 16, the inventories of the end of the period do not necessarily correspond to the highest values. The sample is small, and the number of inventories generally represents a fifth of the registered adult deaths. Notwithstanding these facts, the last column shows that only the skilled workers had more than 1000L in domestic articles; the skilled workmen and one day labourer had from 500L to 1,000L in domestic articles; one skilled workman and two day labourers possessed up to 500L in domestic articles. In fact, few workmen had an inventory prepared, which, up to a point, is significant. On the one hand, the wages of day labourers were lower than those of the skilled workman. In Mathew Bell's time, the former earned £3.10 per month[42] that is 1008L per year, and the latter from £4 to £7 per month,[43] that is from 1152L to 2016L per year. On the other hand, the costs of an inventory (up to ten percent) were often a deterrent to engaging a notary.[44] The family, according to its wishes, decided on the sharing of the furniture and, if appropriate, the real estate.

In this chapter on household equipment, we shall deal more specifically with the furniture. The utensils, instruments, tools and cooperage will be analyzed in relation to the activities with which they were associated. The livestock, for example, will be dealt with in relation

Table 16. Relation between the value of domestic goods and the trade of the workman (by order of value)

Name of Workman	Trade of Workman	Inventory	Value of Domestic Articles (L)
Anderson	Moulder	1796	7296
Michelin	Forest ranger	1851	1839
Moussette	Moulder	1807	1621
Cook	Smith	1853	1461
Robichon	Forgeman	1807	1431
Lewis	Moulder	1821	1346
Imbleau	Moulder	1845	1078
Tassé	Smith	1811	1041
Terreau	Moulder	1830	962
Gilbert, A.	Day labourer	1804	898
Lamothe	Forgeman	1810	841
Pellerin	Furnace keeper	1845	757
Lacommarde	Baker	1810	735
Cochrane	Smith	1834	713
Sawyer	Quarryman	1816	711
Raymond	Carter	1825	643
Comeau	Founder	1821	630
Comeau-Chailloux	Carpenter	1825	588
Gilbert, J.B.	Forgeman	1799	343
Rivard	Day labourer	1830	322
Houle	Day labourer	1808	270

to food. Clothes, personal property, toilet articles will be incorporated in the last chapter devoted to man. The carriages, the workmen's mode of transportation, will also be part of the last chapter.

Furniture

Under the French régime, the furniture of the interiors of workmen's houses satisfied their elementary needs: beds where more than two slept, a table for all the work and activities of the house, chairs often insufficient in number, few armchairs, the indispensable dough box, the stove and some furniture for storing things, such as a buffet, an armoire, a chest or some variant of these.

From 1793 to 1845, the post-morten inventories disclose the use of a greater quantity and variety of furniture. Thus, the beds were more numerous and only two at the most slept in them. Generally there were two or three tables and from 4 to 17 chairs. More importance was accorded armchairs (six references), large armchairs (eight references), sofa (ten references), a rocking chair and furniture for children such as a high chair. We find a whole range of furniture for storing articles: the armoire (23 references), the drawers (10 references), the writing desk (1 reference), the chest (24 references), the glazed corner cabinet (2 references), the food-locker (4 references), the dresser (1 reference), the bucket bench (5 references) and the suitcase (1 reference). Everybody evidently possessed a stove. For washing, a wash-stand and night commode were used, although they were still unusual in workmen's accommodation. In this list some innovations are observed: the glazed corner cabinet, the bucket bench, the wash-stand, the rocking chair, types of furniture which only appeared at the end of the 18th century. The proliferation of suitcases is also a new feature.

The modest increase of furniture used for actual household chores is significant. Only one spinning wheel and one single winder are mentioned in the house of Joseph Comeau-Chailloux. The latter, although a carpenter at the ironworks, lived on a property located in Pointe-au-Lac. He grew flax and raised sheep. It is not surprising that the notary lists the spinning wheel and the winder with 18 bundles of tow (Comeau-Chailloux inv.). There was a connection between the products of agriculture, of raising livestock and the domestic jobs depending on these, such as carding wool, crushing the flax, spinning, knitting and weaving. This is why we do not find such activities at the homes of workers at the ironworks. Another household activity requiring a special piece of furniture was baking bread. The dough box, present in all houses of the French régime, has been in a way forsaken. In Bell's time, only six references were recorded and some had been banished to the loft.

Last of all we note the proliferation of mirrors, especially large ones, and the appearance of the clock (5 references). Let us now examine the details of each type of furniture.

Beds. References to beds are numerous. Further, as we have already pointed out, the beds were in proportion to the number of people in a community. A maximum of two people slept in each bed. The beds were of five types:

* The most common model is the bed with low or no bedposts at all, without a frame or canopy.
* The second is the folding bed composed of a wood frame over which is stretched a strong cloth or webbing of leather or cloth.
* The bed with bedposts which support the frame or canopy. This type of bed, although mentioned three times (Lamothe inv.; Robichon inv.; Raymond inv.), is often the parents' bed, protected by the marriage contract.
* The bed *en tombeau* is the sort in which the canopy or frame slopes instead of being horizontal - generally higher at the head than at the feet. There are three

references (Anderson inv.; Moussette inv.; Terreau inv.).
* For the child, the cradle furnished with a small straw mattress and bed linen (5 references).

At this time, the word bed and the expression fitted or complete bed describe the whole article, including the frame, the bed linen, as well as, in certain cases, the fittings. On the bed linen and the fittings, there is ample information. Generally a fitted bed comprised the following:

* a straw mattress (a palliasse);
* a feather bed;
* a bolster, except for a child's bed;
* two pillows except for a child's bed;
* one or two sheets - some are of local cloth or Russian cloth or Irish linen or cotton;
* one, two or rarely three blankets;
* a counterpane; it is still very popular in the course of the period studied. In some cases the material is mentioned: serge, calico and more rarely, wool. There are also counterpanes for the crib;
* a coverlet: this article, which at this period signifies a little coverlet for the feet, is however not general (7 references);
* a *catalogne*: reference to this is infrequent, no more than in the case of the coverlet.

References to materials and colours are generally rare. The spare bed linen comprised principally sheets and sometimes pillowcases and/or blankets. As for the bed fittings, these included the canopy and curtains. These were sometimes calico (Anderson inv.), or cotton (Lamothe inv.), one single reference specified colour, a bed valance in red (Raymond inv.).

Tables and Chairs. From 1793 to 1845, the houses where one would find but one table were rare (A. Gilbert inv.; Kenyon inv. at Les Forges; Sawyer inv.; Rivard inv.). We can count generally two or three, on occasion seven or eight (Anderson inv.; Comeau inv.). In the same way, the range was quite large: large table (six places) or small (pedestal table), round or square, with one or two folding tables. The tables were used for meals and work. For those who owned more than one room in the house, there was a table in every room. Thus in Robichon's home, the entry hall contained a table surrounded by 11 chairs and the bedroom was furnished with another table (Robichon inv.). At Comeau's, there were two in the main room, one of which was accompanied by six chairs; the entry hall had another table with eleven chairs; two others, used for preparing food, were located in the kitchen, another in the small room, and two in the loft (Comeau inv.). The two latter rooms were in fact bedrooms. We may therefore deduce, in this

Table 17. Colour reference for tables and chairs

Inventory	Date of Inventory	Tables	Chairs
Lamothe	1810	1 blue	9 green 7 straw
Comeau	1821	1 wild cherry 1 unspecified	6 green 6 straw 3 green
Rivard	1830	1 red	8 straw
Terreau	1830	1 red	12 straw
Gendreau	1837	3 red 1 unpainted 1 unpainted	4 varnished cherry colour 8 painted black
Imbleau	1845	1 pine	6 blue 4 straw
Pellerin	1845	1 wild cherry	6 brown 9 straw 11 painted black
Cook	1853	1 varnished pine	6 varnished pine

case, that meals may have been eaten in two rooms, the main room and the entry hall. This feature is also repeated in Cook's house, where, in the principal room, there were three tables and six chairs, and in the entry hall, one table and again six chairs (Cook inv.).

The number of chairs varied, in each inventory, between four and twenty-six. They were made with straw or wooden seats and often painted or varnished; the two types might be side by side in the same room.

The inventories of the period differ from those of the French régime in that they provide much more detail on the paint or varnish finish of the furniture. Table 17 from these references shows us the way colour and varnish were associated. The table clearly indicates that, in the case of tables, people preferred natural wood, varnished or painted red. The chairs did not matter. These, if rush-bottomed, were left in the natural state or varnished. Those of wood were sometimes varnished and sometimes painted green, red, blue, brown or black. The range of colours of the chairs was considerable. We find few sets of tables and chairs with the same finish, except the red table and the chairs varnished in cherry colour (Gendreau sale), the table and chairs in varnished pine (Cook inv.).

Other Chairs. Apart from the rush-bottomed or wooden chairs, there were four other types of chairs:

- The armchair, sometimes accompanied by a stool (6 references);
- The easy chair, sometimes painted (8 references);
- The sofa, stuffed and covered with material, generally made of pine, with a varnished or painted surface (one reference to red, Gendreau sale) (10 references);
- Rocking chair (1 reference).

In each interior, there was at least one of these chairs, sometimes two.

Furniture used for storage. The armoire, the buffet and the chest remained the most popular furniture for storing things. The distinction between armoire and buffet is, as under the French régime, difficult to establish. People speak of a buffet with two doors, characteristics which belong to the armoire. The two fulfil the same functions, storage of linen, tableware and foodstuffs. To be a little more precise, note that in 13 interiors, one to three armoires could be counted, and in 18 interiors from one to four buffets have been recorded; the use of both pieces of furniture is observed in seven interiors.

For putting away linen, the chest was still used: it was sometimes kept in the loft. Suitcases were also becoming very popular. They could equally well replace the chest when moves occurred. But to give the room where one was sleeping a more pleasant look as well as more comfort, the chest of drawers, also called the bureau, was used increasingly. This article with four to seven drawers was better suited to the storage of linen and clothes. It is noted in ten interiors.

Only one reference to a dresser, as a place to put away utensils and foodstuffs, is noted. This was a piece of furniture or name which was so popular under the French régime. It is, however, very possible that the reference to buffet (without further description), alludes to the piece of furniture composed of a low buffet with a dresser on top. The inventories disclose another type of armoire, called a corner cabinet. This type of furniture appeared at the end of the 18th century and we have noted three references. It must also be recorded that the dough box, apart from its use for bread making, also served to store food. As for the bucket bench, where the pails and buckets were kept and hence a place for water storage, this was a piece of furniture which appeared only at the end of the 18th century.

Clocks. The prerogative of the better-off under the French régime, the clock became more and more popular in less prosperous homes from the first half of the 19th

Table 18. Value of clocks

Inventories	Date of Inventory	Clocks	Estimates
Comeau	1821	1 wood	18L
Imbleau	1845	1 wood with case	£5 (120L)
Pellerin	1845	1 copper with case	£4.10 (108L)
Cook	1853	1 copper with case	£2.10 (60L)
		1 small clock, copper with case	£7s 6p (9L)
		1 wood with case	5s (6L)

century. Further they are more frequently listed in workmen's inventories at the middle of the century, which confirms this fact. One single exception to the rule: in 1796, the workman Anderson, after his death, left a clock as well as several clock movements.

Could clocks have been more readily afforded at this time? During the French régime, we know that a clock cost from 60 to 350L. From the few references we have found, the prices varied.

Colours of furniture. Furniture of the period differed from the preceding period by a greater number and variety. It also differed by a third element, that of colour. Under the French régime, the colour mentioned in documents did not, as such, apply to furniture but rather to bed linen and material for covering furniture. In the 19th century, the opposite happened. This, at least, is the conclusion we have reached after analysing post-morten inventories from the two periods.

From 1730 to 1760, the inventories of humbler or poor homes contain no information on their attitude to or the use of colour. We can derive some notion from the study of the interiors of more prosperous people. Take, for example, the inventory of the property of François-Etienne Cugnet, director of the ironworks company from 1734 to 1741. In his house in Quebec, we notice that it was the bed linen and materials which added colour to the room. Thus

> ... in the first room ...
> ... a tapestry hanging representing trees and foliage ...

> 7 armchairs covered in gros point tapestry with slipcovers, blue serge ...
> ... one complete bed, blue serge, trimmed with pale yellow ribbon
> 2 old window curtains, white cotton
> ... in a closet ... used for the children ...
> one fitted bed, green serge ... 2 curtains, green serge, for windows
> ... in another large room
> ... 1 tapestry representing trees and foliage, in five pieces
> 1 large bed ... complete with curtains, headboard, large head-curtains and quilt, dark red damask ... 8 armchairs covered in damask, with dark red slipcovers
> 4 stools *idem* for use as window seats, with dark red slipcovers, 2 window curtains, dark red serge
> ... in a small closet opening off the said room
> ... one piece of worn grey white serge, used as a tapestry
> 4 chairs, dark red damask, with dark red serge slipcovers
> 2 stools, red velvet
> 1 small couch ... [Translation][45]

These rooms could well be called the blue, green or dark red room. In modest homes, serge was widely used for bed linen and to cover furniture. The serge used, as in the above example, was most often green, red, blue or grey. This may be partly the attempt to harmonise the colours by adopting one shade, or partly the effect of chance resulting from the availability of the materials manufactured and sold. This involved the method of dyeing used at the time as well as the taste or fashion of the period.

We are witnessing a change in the 19th century. The post-mortem inventories no longer recorded the colours of materials, but rather those of the wood from which the furniture was made. There was, moreover an abundance of colours, often dazzling and contrasting with one another. This can be explained, on the one hand, by the adoption of a new fashion, on the other, by the increasing availability of paints on the market. One has only to see the press advertisements of the time, where there are references to the job of painter. We observe that in the same interior, where the rooms were not mentioned, the colors were varied: green, brown, blue (Anderson inv.); blue, red, grey (Rivard inv.); blue, white, red, black (Gendreau sale); brown, green, red (Pellerin inv.). These no longer conformed to a single colour scheme. On the contrary, they were sometimes contrasting and dazzling (with red predominating). Moreover, natural wood, varnished wood and painted wood mingled easily together.

Acquisition of Furniture. Furnishing and equipping the house took different approaches. The contribution of the married couple, on the occasion of their marriage, was the basis of the joint estate. The estate consisted mainly of furniture and clothes, sometimes of animals and foodstuffs.[46] A popular way to obtain goods was to buy them at an auction sale of property from a joint estate or after a will. Several auction sales took place at Les Forges itself after the death of workmen, either at the home of the deceased or in the office of *La Grande Maison*.[47] Further, the workmen also attended auction sales at Three Rivers particularly when they involved the property of a former ironworks' workman.[48] There were also furniture sales when a couple of advanced years decided to dispense with their furniture.[49] Furniture sales were also a way of clearing debts. Thus, for instance, Joseph Roy, a tailor of Three Rivers sold some furniture to John Anderson in 1794 for the sum of £29.10.9½ in settlement.[50] Finally *donations* also constituted for the recipient a way of acquiring goods.[51] These took place generally between relatives and according to a legal contract. The recipient looked after the donor by providing lodging, heating and light, as well as food and care; in return, the recipient acquired full enjoyment of the property transferred by the donor and full possession after his death.

The goods obtained this way were generally furniture and secondhand equipment. To judge from the absence of carpenter's tools in the inventories, such domestically made furniture as may have existed, was probably the work of the carpenters at the ironworks. As a last resort it was always possible to obtain furniture and domestic articles in the Three Rivers shops.

Activities

Domestic activies were not numerous. The house was where people carried out their most vital and intimate activities: eating, drinking, sleeping, working and amusing themselves. Work associated with these activites was shared by all members of the household, according to sex and age. What did the household activities consist of in an industrial environment like Les Forges du Saint-Maurice? What differences were there between an urban and a rural environment, or even between the time of the French régime and the first half of the 19th century? In an industrial environment such as the ironworks of Saint-Maurice, the man's daily work was done in the blast-furnace, forge, workshop, clearing, in the woods and mines or on the roads. Domestic activities, if we use as a base jobs normally associated with men, were reduced to supplying firewood, looking after the animals to some extent (the horse, for instance) and providing food by hunting and fishing. Apart from these tasks, the home was the place of rest, entertainment, warmth and meals. The woman did not share the man's work as in the rural setting, where she actively participated in agricultural work. In this sense the industrial environment was closer to the urban. Aside from the care of animals and gardening, the principal domain of the woman was the home. The preparation of food was hers as well as the care of the house, and the making and looking after of the linen and clothes. In the case of the children, the younger ones were in the care of the mother, and the older ones helped their parents: the girls shared the mother's tasks and the younger boys followed in the father's footsteps (handing down a trade from father to son was well established at Les Forges), or learned another trade.

Food

Food was a very important daily preoccupation of domestic life. It demanded to a greater or lesser degree, the involvement of all family members, whether it was to obtain, prepare, preserve or consume food.

Acquisition

Les Forges Shop. The main supply centre for the workmen under the French régime was the company store. Under British rule, owners and lessees continued this pattern. The inventory of the goods of Conrad Gugy, lessor of Les Forges from 1783 to 1786 discloses the existence of a shop in one of the rooms of *La Grande Maison*, containing quite a range of merchandise for sale to the workers (App. I). Under Mathew Bell's administration, a single reference to the lessee in a letter addressed to James Kent on 26 December 1892, confirms the shop's existence.

> They [workers] depend on their daily wages as such for the necessaries of life; provisions are distributed to them regularly at stated periods from the Lessee's Stores.[52]

The owners' and lessees' tradition of keeping a shop to serve the workmen was quite strong, since it lasted right up to the administration of the McDougalls (owners from 1862 to 1883) as witnessed by the document of seizure of their property at Les Forges on 10 March 1883[53] (App. K).

If the inventory of Gugy's property and the document of seizure of McDougall's provide us with information on some of the foodstuffs offered to the workmen, no document dating from Mathew Bell's administration yields any data on the goods on sale at the company shop at that time.

The masters of Les Forges also called on the services of a baker to prepare food suitable for supplying the workmen. This likewise, appears to have been a tradition inherited from the French régime and continued particularly by Conrad Gugy and Mathew Bell. The baker's job was not limited to baking but also to "faire la boucherie et aider à la distribution et faire la cuisine," and more particularly

> ... among other things, to perform any other tasks, for example, to arrange, cut up and salt pork, to distribute provisions and other similar tasks, as has been customary for previous bakers. [Translation][54]

Under Bell's administration, the first baker engaged was Charles Lacommande dit Lalancette. He worked there until 1810, the year of his death[55] and was succeeded by Louis Dugré, Joseph Peterson Sr., Joseph Peterson Jr., Pierre Belleau and Edouard Huot.[56]

At the end of the 18th century, David Munro and Mathew Bell built a flour mill.[57] Joseph Comeau was the first miller engaged by Munro and Bell, later replaced by Jean-Marie Bouchard and Etienne Bouchard.[58]

Thus, at Les Forges, there was a shop, a bakery, and a flour mill created to serve the population of the industrial village. How well did these three units operate? What products were offered to the workmen? At what price were they sold, in relation to the prices at shopkeepers? Were their quality, number and variety adequate? We cannot answer these questions. Post-mortem inventories reveal, on the subject of debts, that the workmen also had recourse to individuals or to the shopkeepers of Three Rivers for their

Table 19. Workmen's debts to the Three Rivers' shopkeepers

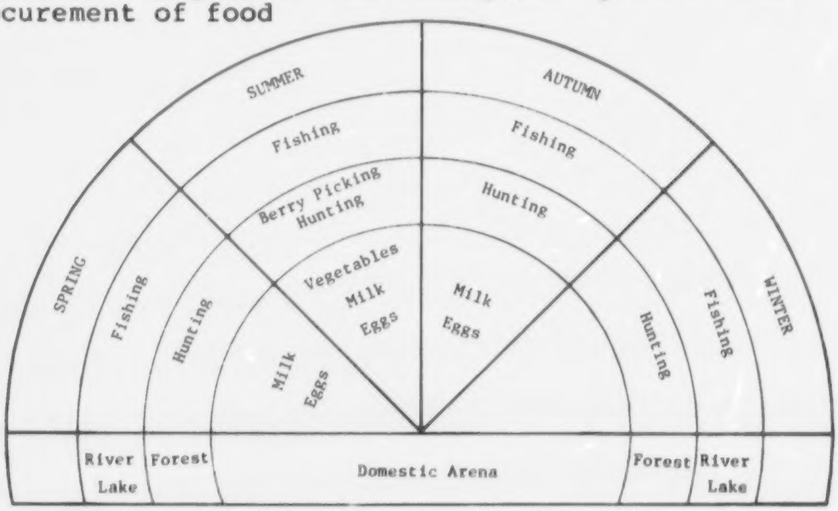
Date of Inventory	Debtors	Creditors	Sums Due L(20s)	Bought
1804	Gilbert, Augustin	Carier, Etienne, Butcher	119L 6s	
1809	Kenyon, William	Gibbard, Jos, Shopkeeper, T.R.	205L 4s	various foods
1811	Tassé, Jacques	Cousteau	12L	potatoes
1816	Sawyer, Maurice	Bureau, Pierre Shopkeeper	60L	
1820	Lewis, John Samuel	Anderson, William T.R.	46L 10s	
1845	Imbleau, Claude	Toutant (?), J.B. Shopkeeper	20L 8s	
1845	Pellerin, François	Giroux, Joseph Shopkeeper	54L 4s	
1851	Michelin, Joseph	Lasalle, Shopkeeper, T.R.	27L	

supplies. All these workmen were living at Les Forges at the time of their death, or of that of their spouse, with the exception of Willian Kenyon, whose family lived in Three Rivers, thus necessitating supplies near their place of residence. The debts vary in size. These figures are difficult to interpret because they appear out of context, except that of a statement of debts. With the possible exception of the account of John Gibbard attached to the inventory of William Kenyon's goods, the rate of purchases is absolutely unknown to us.

Apart from the supply of food in the company shop or at those in Three Rivers, there were supplements to the diet provided by hunting, fishing, fruit picking, animal husbandry and horticulture. These methods of obtaining food involved a complete dependence on the ecological cycle, but permitted additions and variety in the supply of food, at the same time taking advantage of the domestic economy. The ecological cycle of food procurement, according to the seasons, is illustrated in Table 20.

Animal Husbandry. Most families raised one or two cows; some also kept a pig and some poultry. Inventories record six families possessing one or two pigs (the number may have varied according to the season of the year) and five owned from four to 20 hens. For the year 1831 alone, the census records that 54 families owned 81 horned cattle and 22 pigs; under the name William Hooper, two horned cattle; under the name of Les Forges' tenant, 60 horned cattle and 100 pigs.[59] Between 1784 and 1871, the census of 1831 included the greatest number of animals (*see* App. L). The cows and hens provided milk and eggs

Table 20. Diagram of the ecological cycle of the procurement of food


SUMMER
AUTUMN
Fishing
Fishing
Berry Picking
Hunting
Hunting
SPRING
Fishing
Hunting
Vegetables
Milk
Eggs
Milk
Eggs
Milk
Eggs
Hunting
Fishing
WINTER
River
Lake
Forest
Domestic Arena
Forest
River
Lake

throughout the year depending on the way they were fed. In summer, cows and hens found their sustenance from nature. During winter, depending on the diet provided, milk and egg production was either reduced or nil. We note in a *donation* in 1827 an allowance for board for two people comprising "deux oeufs par jour du 1er mai au 15 octobre," a period when egg-laying was regular.[60] Beef provided fresh meat in summer and frozen in winter. Poultry and pigs were, however, slaughtered to be frozen or salted at the first cold snap. During the cold season they thus had meat in their diet.

To the livestock one can add sheep whose wool provided clothing. Rearing sheep was, however, in Mathew Bell's time, very limited at Les Forges. According to the inventories, only the Terreau family raised them (Terreau inv.). It was more frequent in the case of workmen living outside the establishment, at Pointe-du-Lac (Comeau-Chailloux inv.) and even in Three Rivers, (Houle inv.; Cook inv.).

In 1831, the census records no sheep belonging to the workers, but about 60 owned by the lessee of Les Forges. Sheep-raising was intensified in the course of the last years of the ironworks operation. The census of 1871 records 17 sheep raised by some of the 44 households of Les Forges, 63 raised by Dr. Beauchemin and 24 by Robert and David MacDougall.[61]

Gardening. Most families of workmen had gardens. The travellers John Lambert[62] in 1808 and Henry Walter[63] in 1829 make this observation, as well as Mathew Bell in a letter to A.W. Cochran on 4 December 1837: "The peaceable quiet race of people at the Establishment ... have small patches of garden ground."[64] The kitchen garden cultivated by hand using a hoe, spade and shovel (Anderson inv.; Kenyon inv. at Les Forges; Lewis inv.; Comeau-Chailloux inv., Pointe-du-Lac). The type and variety of the vegetables grown in the little individual gardens is unknown. The same is true for the garden of *La Grande Maison*, looked after by the gardener, John Mendesse.

Moreover, the lessee of Les Forges hired William Hooper as a farmer. For the one year, 1831, the census provides some information: for 60 acres seeded, he harvested 8,000 *minots* of potatoes and 50 *minots* of oats.[65] It was only by 1871 that information was available on the different agricultural products of the workmen and the two owners of Les Forges, Dr. Beauchemin and the McDougalls. The census records workmen's products as 271 *minots* of potatoes, 7 *minots* of rye, 3 *minots* of buckwheat, 3 *minots* of Indian corn; Dr. Beauchemin's products are: 1500 *minots* of potatoes, 100 *minots* of peas, 2 *minots* of beans, 100 *minots* of buckwheat, 10 *minots* of Indian corn, 50 *minots* of wheat, 1500 *minots* of oats, 6000 trusses of hay; in the case of

Robert and David McDougall, the record shows 1000 *minots* of potatoes, 16 *minots* of Indian corn, 100 *minots* of oats, 500 trusses of hay.[66] Starting from Mathew Bell's administration, the lessees and owners, over and above the individual kitchen gardens, embarked increasingly in agricultural activity to supply the needs of the workmen and to provide feed for the animals. In 1831, 60 acres of land were cultivated; in 1851, the amount doubled and rose to 140 acres; in 1861 it climbed to 150 acres; in 1871, it was certainly as much if not higher, if the agricultural production were taken into consideration.

Hunting. The forests surrounding the village abounded with game, both birds and animals. Many workmen went hunting during their free time. The references to guns, powder horns, shot cases, game bags or tinplate boxes as well as hunting knives attest to this (inv. of Anderson, A. Gilbert, Robichon, Kenyon, Lamothe, Sawyer, Lewis, Imbleau). John Munro, clerk at Les Forges, who lived there about 1810 was an enthusiastic hunter, to judge from the equipment he owned: two guns, a shot case, a game bag, two powder horns, one pound of gunpowder, eight pounds of lead, valued at £8.2.8 or 195L.

Fishing. In their free time, the men also went fishing. People fished for little fish or tomcod, which swam upstream as far as Les Forges.[67] Mathew Bell was upset about workmen and residents of the neighbourhood who fished near his land, as evidenced by a protest prepared by the notary Joseph Badeaux, of 3 January 1820:

> Matthew Bell and John Stewart, merchants and lessees and farmers of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice Station, protest against the intrusion on their lands of Daniel Munro, David Gouin and Joseph Tassé for the purpose of fishing for tomcod. [Translation][68]

He demanded compensation for damage caused by the building of fences and shelters needed for this fishing. This protest provides information also on the use of a particular fishing technique.

Berry-Picking. About mid-July the fruit season began. Families from Les Forges certainly went picking strawberries, raspberries and blueberries. Benjamin Sulte himself remembers raspberries and blueberries gathered among the roots of the big pine trees.[69]

Staples. The provisions which the workmen kept in reserve are in part disclosed by the post-mortem inventories. In spite of gaps in these papers, we can get some idea of what the worker preferred to accumulate. Short-term perishable foodstuffs are not recorded. Finally, the utensils, especially those which had a specific function, provide information on the consumption of this or that foodstuff. The range of foods presented has been prepared according to material collected in our documentation. It does not include samples of all edible products of this period, which would go beyond the confines of our study.

Bread. It has been noted, when speaking of furniture, that the dough box was abandoned during the period 1793-1845. In 22 inventories, only eight dough boxes are mentioned, two of which had been relegated to the loft.

However, bread constituted an important element in the diet. One may therefore conclude that, at this time, women baked bread less and less and bought the bread required for the household from the baker at Les Forges.

Under the French régime bread was the basic food of the diet. One may wonder whether it held such an important place in the diet during the first half of the 19th century. For the consumption of potatoes at this period had an impact on the consumption of bread. This was noticeable in France, particularly in the Sancerrois (region of the Loire Valley, north of Champagne district).

> The same author (Le Comte de Montalivet) reviewing the period during which he was writing (about 1877) observed:
>
> "What a difference in food! Bread is still the most common staple, but it is no longer the only one." [Translation]
>
> In fact, the consumption of potatoes, together with that of beans and chestnuts, caused the consumption of bread to decline.[70]

Meats. Meat principally consisted of salt pork, pork, beef and veal. As has been known since the French régime, the workman consumed large quantities of meat. The ironmaster of Les Forges, Olivier, as has already been stated, complained about this. On the other hand, the severity of the climate, the tough conditions of work and the ready availability of meat from raising animals or buying it at the company shop, all encouraged its consumption. An article in the *Journal des Trois-Rivières* dated 12 September 1865, on the life-style at the village of Les Forges and St. Etienne reported that the workman took two meat meals per day: fresh meat in summer, and frozen in winter.[71]

Jean Terreau's inventory is specially interesting. The inventory, prepared on 5 December 1830, shows that the dairy carried supplies of pork and beef. The pork, preserved and salted there, indicates that the family had butchered some time before the inventory. From pork fat they made dripping or lard, preserved in the salting-tub. They also kept, on top of it, pig's tongue. Pigs' heads were also preserved to use later to make potted head. Meat from piglets was also kept. From the number of pigs' tongues and pigs' heads, the family must have slaughtered several pigs and piglets, unless they received these as a present. As we see, all parts of the pig were utilised; from it one made blood sausage, salt pork, lard, roasts, stews and pâté.

Poultry. From the inventories, only four workmen kept poultry. Apart from the fact that keeping poultry provided chicken and turkey for consumption, there were also the eggs. The farmers in the neighbourhood of Les Forges and the company shop doubtless supplied the workmen with these foodstuffs. In 1808, the price of a dozen eggs was not high: they cost 7 p. (Kenyon inv.).

From the accounts of William Kenyon with the shopkeeper John Gibbard of Three Rivers, during the month of January alone, the workman bought for his family nine and a half dozen eggs and 8s.6p. worth of turkey (Kenyon inv., William Kenyon had two young children).

Eggs were also one of the foods required in an allowance for board. Some *donations* of the period reveal this: the allowance for board of Joseph Moussette and his wife, drawn up in 1827, included "deux oeufs par jour du 1er mai au 15 octobre," that is 26 dozen per year;[72] that of Marie-Louise Blondin, widow of the late Etienne Rouet dit Vive L'Amour, in 1836 included 12 dozen eggs per year.[73]

Fish. Fish was not a foodstuff preserved in a large quantity as a reserve stock. The absence of any reference to this in the post-mortem inventories confirms this. Nonetheless fish did form part of the diet. The account of William Kenyon with John Gibbard itemizes in 1808 the purchase of fish for 1s.6p. and of a salmon for 3s. (Kenyon inv.). A *donation* in 1832 included in the allowance for board "un quart de quintal de morue verte."[74]

Dairy Products. Milk consumption was guaranteed since each family, as we have seen, generally owned at least one cow. It was at least assured in summer and probably reduced in winter, depending on the feeding of the animal, or if relevant, its period of gestation.

When there was sufficient milk, it could be converted into cream, butter or cheese, although the available equipment was very limited and rudimentary. Churns, cheese drainers or cheese molds are rarely mentioned (churns: inv. of Anderson, Lamothe, Kenyon in Three Rivers; butter-stamp: Anderson inv.; cheese drainers and cheese molds: inv. of Anderson and Kenyon). The absence of a utensil does not indicate necessarily that neither butter nor cheese was made. As for butter, the cream could be churned by hand in

Table 21. Reserves of vegetables

Inventory	Year, Place of Storage	Vegetables	Value
Moussette	1807	1 tub of potatoes	2L
Kenyon (Three Rivers)	1809 outside	2 *minots* of potatoes in a barrel	9L
Lacommande	1810	1 box of beans	15s
Tassé (liabilities)	1811	potatoes	12L
Raymond	1825	about 4 *minots* of potatoes	2L
Comeau-Chailloux (Pointe-du Lac)	1825 loft	12 trusses of Indian corn	6L
Rivard	1830 cellar	18 *minots* of potatoes	9L
		12 *minots* of potatoes	10L 6s
Terreau	1830 cow-shed	about 16 *minots* of potatoes	16L
		30 head of cabbage	1L 10s
Imbleau	1845	about 6 *minots* of potatoes	7L 4s
Michelin	1851 cellar at the farm	1 batch of potatoes	2: 14s
		8 *minots* of peas	38L 8s

an earthenware pot and as for the cheese, it was possible to use some sort of sheet metal or tinplate container pierced with holes and equipped with a cloth into which the curd was allowed to drain.

These foods could also be obtained in the shop at Les Forges or Three Rivers. In 1808, according to the account of William Kenyon with John Gibbard, a pound of butter was worth 1s.2p. and a pound of cheese 7½ p. (Kenyon inv.).

Vegetables and Fruits. The vegetables which the workmen grew in their gardens are not identified. Nevertheless the reserves which they accumulated consisted of potatoes, beans, cabbages and Indian corn.

Table 21, in addition to giving us an idea of the different stocks of vegetables, also provides us with information on their value, especially that of potatoes. It is interesting to note that at Les Forges from 1807 to 1825, a *minot* of potatoes was worth 10s, while at Kenyon's, in Three Rivers, it was priced at 3L. In 1830 it had doubled in value to 1L and in 1845, 1L 4s.

When Samuel Lewis bought some furniture and effects from his son, in lieu of rent, he obtained, among other things, some vegetables.

> the seed from three *minots* of potatoes, still in the ground, and one row of Indian corn, standing, approximately two hundred cabbages, also unharvested. [Translation][75]

Potatoes, peas, cabbages, Indian corn, sometimes onions, sometimes "légume à son besoin" were the vegetables in demand in the allowances for board mentioned in *donations*.[76]

Fruit did not figure in the food stocks, and if it were preserved in the form of jam, no sign of this has been found. The only reference to fruit containers, a half-dozen barrels for apples,[77] appears in a sale by Louis Gendreau of his furniture and goods.

Spices and Condiments. Salt and pepper were the spices and condiments par excellence. Salt shakers and salt boxes were indubitably found on every table or in every kitchen, placed near the hearth or the stove to preserve them from humidity. Salt, in 1808, was worth 3L per *minot* (Kenyon inv.). Apart from the Kenyon inventory where one *minot* of salt is listed, one has not listed salt supplies in the other inventories in spite of the fact that salt was indispensable for the brine for meats. Pepper, pepper shakers and pepper mills were not used as much or, more exactly, were not as frequently listed in inventories. Finally, in this category, there are some references to mustard, particularly in the anglophone workers' homes (Anderson inv.; Kenyon inv.).

Shortening. This, traditionally, was butter and lard. The latter might have been more generally used, being easier to obtain and manufacture when hogs were slaughtered. Butter, on the other hand, could not be made without an ample supply of milk and in any case, it was more expensive to purchase. Lard was kept in terrines, earthenware jars, lard pails or small barrels.

Sugar. At the end of the 18th century and throughout the first half of the 19th, there are several references to sugar, more particularly maple sugar. Not only was it used in the preparation of certain foods, but it was also left on the table in sugar bowls. Maple sugar, being less expensive than white sugar, was not actually stocked, even though impressive quantities are referred to

Table 22. List of sugar stocks

Inventories	Year	Sugar	Value	Value Per Pound
Anderson	1796	114 lbs, local		
		38 lbs, wheat sugar		2L/lb
		94 lbs, local		13s/lb
Robichon	1807	2 lbs, local	2L	10s/lb
Raymond	1825 ca.	24 lbs, local	6L	5s/lb
Terreau	1830	some sugar		

in the Anderson or Raymond inventories. It appears to have been bought in small amounts, on a regular basis, at the company store, to the extent that it was available. There were sugar bushes on the estates of Les Forges, which Mathew Bell leased to "sugar makers." In 1840 there were at least four such places where sugar was made: those of Antoine Lessard, François Garceau, Joseph Corriveau and Jean-Baptiste Ricard.[78] That of Antoine Lessard consisted of a sugar shanty and a shed. The utensils to make syrup and sugar included small and large buckets, cans, pails, sugar molds and scales and as tools, scrapers and gouges. After working as a sugar maker for four years, Antoine Lessard decided, on 22 March 1840, to sell his lease to Laurent Grenier, an inhabitant of Yamachiche.[79]

Drinks. Water was the most common drink. Each household had at least one water jug. Milk was also a popular drink, whether drunk by itself or in tea. Some tea sets included, among other articles, the milk jug.

As a warm drink, in the 19th century, tea seemed more popular and was a less costly item than coffee. The connection between these beverages and the colonial market is obvious. Coffee is not mentioned but there are some references to coffee mills and coffee pots. In contrast, the number of references to tea is higher. All the workers' inventories contain at least one teapot, some even tea caddies, as against seven which include coffee pots, and of these seven there are four mentions of coffee mills. The allowances for board in the 19th century included a requirement for tea, in the amount of 2 to 4 lbs per year.[80] From Kenyon's account with his shopkeeper, we are aware of the price of tea, which rose in 1808 to 5s. 6p. a pound (Kenyon inv.).

As in the period of French rule, alcoholic drinks did not form part of food stocks. Consumption must have been high, because it often caused the workmen to run into debt.

They were thus obligated to mortgage their property or offer Les Forges products in payment. An act of this sort happened in 1784, when Joseph Moussette and his wife acknowledged owing Jean McBean, shopkeeper of Three Rivers the sum of £140 10s.

> They (Joseph Moussette and his wife) agree to repay the said debt in 2 equal payments, the first at All Saints and the other half at the end of one year. The said creditor agrees to take as payment merchandise from the said forges of St-Maurice, such as frying pans, irons and other objects produced at the said forges, and that at the price the said articles are worth at the said forges ... for further security, Moussette mortgages his goods, primarily his land at Cap-de-la-Madeleine ... The parties shall be entitled to re-examine their accounts and to verify the size of the containers in which the said debtors have on a number of occasions received rum. [Translation][81]

A similar case occurred in 1847. Olivier Laliberté, a boatman living at Les Forges, owed Jérémie Gauthier, innkeeper of Three Rivers, 55 Spanish piastres (£13.15). The debtor agreed to pay the creditor 30 piastres in cast iron or in iron at the first request, and 25 piastres in silver.[82]

From workmen's accounts in the inventories, from those of William Kenyon (purchases of rum) and those of Jean Houle (purchases of beer, "mild ale" and "Burtin ale") and also from the allowance for board, stipulating red wine and rum, we can assume that the alcoholic drinks consumed were red wine, beer and rum.

Annual rate of consumption. In the absence of account books, *donations*, by themselves, including the allowance for board, furnish us with information on the annual rate of consumption of basic foods. Unfortunately, no *donation* by a workman living at Les Forges has come down to us. As a general rule, it can be said that the workman settled on his land at the time of his retirement at Pointe-du-Lac as did Etienne Rouet dit Vive l'Amour. On 14 July 1826, his widow, Marie-Louise Blondin drew up a *donation* with her son also living at Pointe-du-Lac.[83] We can compare the allowance for board which this lady wanted and those recorded in the *donations* of François Moussette and Agathe Dehaies, living in Bécancour in 1827, as well as with that of Bonaventure Bourbeau dit Beauchaisse and Angèle Bellefeuille, also residents of Bécancour in 1836.[84]

As shown in Table 23, these allowances for board contained a great variety of basic foods. To these could be added the gifts of food offered by relatives or friends after fishing, hunting, berry-picking or an abundant vegetable harvest. It must not be forgotten that the amounts of meat were determined by reference to the "meat days" permitted by the church calendar.

Obviously, *donations* implied, from the outset, ownership of the goods. The donor offered his furniture and real estate and asked in return shelter, maintenance and food. To ensure his well-being and avoid the possibility of a misunderstanding, he listed his requirements. All the foods listed in the three allowances for board can also be found in the post-mortem inventories and in the accounts of workmen at Les Forges. Although varying with the size of each person's means, the annual rate of consumption can be assumed to have been approximately the same as in the three allowances for board.

Preparation of Food. The range of utensils for preparing food varied but the quantity was limited; mortar and pestle (3 references), funnel (3), colander (2), skimmer (3), filler for blood sausage (1), cheese mold (2), hourglass (1), measurer (1), large fork (3), ladle (9), kitchen knife (5), vegetable chopping-board (2), rolling pin (2). On the other hand the terrines were numerous, from two to 12 per family, and every kitchen had a strainer. Thus, for actually preparing food, the housewife had the minimum equipment. Of course makeshift equipment could readily be improvised to compensate for the lack of appropriate or specific items.

At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, the housewife had the choice of cooking on the hearth or on the stove. Actually at this period, she took advantage of both possibilities, favouring the stove more and more, the hearth becoming increasingly just an auxiliary. Even if she began to use the stove only a little, the housewife realized the disadvantages of using the hearth: it was necessary to bend or crouch all the time; the hot flames from the fire burned her face and hands; the heavy receptacles were sometimes awkward and dangerous to handle. Dishes placed in front of the fire only cooked on one side and had to be watched as did those which roasted in the embers, for the embers might go out.

But, on the other hand, the long hours spent near the fire created habits. Experience enabled one to obtain, almost exactly, the heat required: one knew instinctively the degree of heat and cooking time for each food or dish; cooking on the hearth provided alternatives as to whether one wanted to cook the food in front of, or above the fire, or in the hot or cooled embers; one also learned to start cooking above the flames, then to put the receptable on the small embers to simmer for a time or to finish the cooking gently. Using the stove demanded an initial adaptation or apprenticeship to the degree of heat and the time required to cook the different foods. Even when using the stove, the

Table 23. Foodstuffs Required in Allowances for Board

Food	M.L. Blondin Widow 1836	J. Moussette & A. Deshaies 1827	B. Bourbeau and A. Bellefeuille 1832
Wheat converted into flour	12 *minots* good wheat	24 *minots*	24 *minots*
Meats	100 lbs good salted pork	1 fat pig 200 lbs 1 quarter of fat beef	1 fat pig 200 lbs 1 fat piglet 80 to 100 lbs 1 quarter beef, 50 to 60 lbs
Eggs	12 dozen	2 per day from 1 May to 15 Oct.	6 dozen
Butter and lard	20 lbs butter 10 lbs dripping	10 lbs salted butter 10 lbs lard	24 lbs salted butter 10 lbs lard
Condiments	1 half-*minot* salt ½ lb pepper	1 *minot* salt ½ lb pepper	1½ *minots* salt
Sugar	20 lbs local sugar	50 lbs local sugar	100 lbs local sugar
Vegetables	1 *minot* peas vegetables as needed	1 *minot* peas	1½ *minots* peas 50 head cabbage 200 onions 15 *minots* potatoes ½ *minot* Indian corn
Beverages	2 lbs tea 1 gallon red wine	2½ lbs tea 7 gallons rum	4 lbs tea 1 gallon Spanish wine 6 gallons rum

hearth, still serving as a method of heating for the house, remained a readily available source of heat for the kitchen.

For these reasons the transition in the first half of the 19th century from cooking on the hearth to cooking on the stove, was gradual at Les Forges and in keeping with the individual's own timing, habits and tastes.

At first the one-piece stove was used, or better still, the two-decker stove, the upper part of which was really an oven. There is no record of the introduction of the kitchen range, a stove specifically designed for cooking food. The use of this was adopted first in Upper Canada, as noted by Marcel Moussette in his study on heating in Upper and Lower

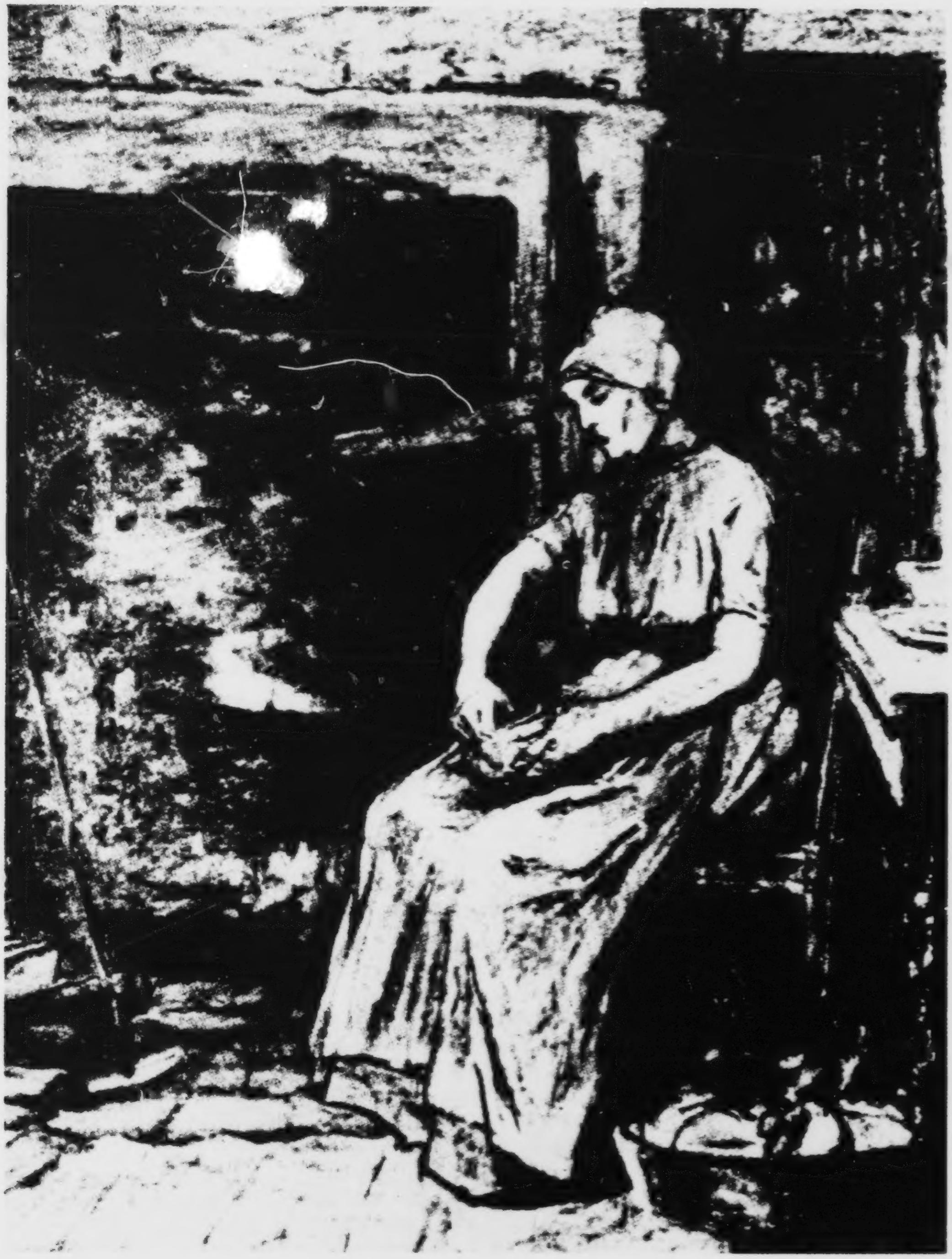


Figure 36. French Canadian woman seated by fireplace performing kitchen chores.

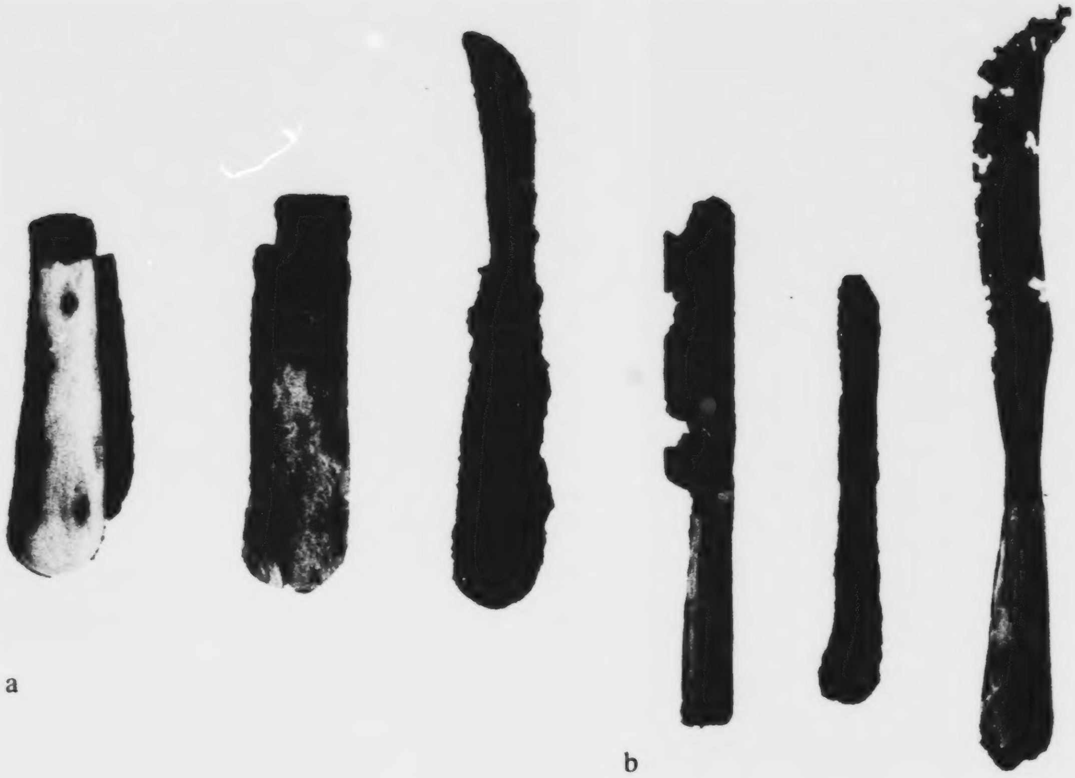


Figure 37a. and b. Pocket knife, slicing knife, vegetable knife and table knife.

Canada:

> In Lower Canada, particularly in the country, food was apparently prepared on combination stoves (two-level stoves), whereas in Upper Canada it was done on separate cookstoves. [Translation][85]

The use of the hearth or stove as well as of the different methods of cooking on two sources of heat is confirmed by reference to hearth and kitchen utensils. At the end of the 18th and right at the beginning of the 19th century, the hearth was still generally used. In 1786 the Anderson inventory included andirons, a pot-hanger, two bellows, a gridiron. In 1799 Jean Baptiste Gilbert's inventory lists a pair of andirons; in 1807, that of Moussette includes a pot-hanger; in 1810, a gridiron is mentioned in the inventory of Lacommande dit Lalancette; in 1825, some andirons were found in the fireplace, according to the Raymond inventory, while others, according to

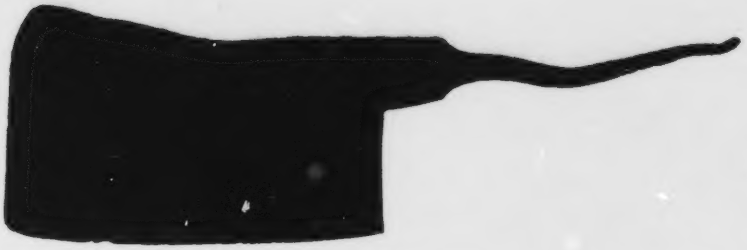


Figure 38. Meat cleaver used to cut meat into joints or pieces or to chop food, English manufacture.

Terreau's inventory, were consigned to the loft. Pot-hook and andirons are, however, slight evidence, because even under the French régime, these were rarely mentioned in post-mortem inventories. They were often considered part of the fireplace and as such, part of the house itself, and thus not estimated. The few mentions are therefore highly significant and prove their use, especially when one considers that after 1825 they were no longer inventoried at all when near the fireplace.

Certain changes in equipment began at this period, enabling one to consider the different methods of cooking favoured or abandoned. Cooking directly on the flame was abandoned in the 19th century; roasting spits were found no more and only two roasting gridirons (Anderson inv. and Lacommande dit Lalancette inv.). The range of cooking utensils was not very large; frying pans, cauldrons and cooking pots were inventoried in great number in every dwelling indicating that frying and boiling were very popular. There were also some saucepans (Comeau inv., Lewis inv., Raymond inv.). Braising was also popular, for even if only four references to braising pans have been found (Lacommande inv., Comeau inv., Raymond inv., Michelin inv.), kitchens often contained a cast-iron pot with a lid, which could serve as a braising pot or braising pan. Used as much for cooking food as preparing it, numerous earthenware dishes were inventoried; however their use and shape were never defined. Finally, to heat liquids, all the inventories list the use of tea kettles, called *bombes* and sometimes *canards*. The kettle was still used to heat large quantities of water on the hearth, or placed in the cinders to keep the water hot for all the needs of the household.

We noted during the French régime the almost total absence of copper utensils. Two objects alone merit attention: a saucepan (Comeau inv.) and a kettle (Kenyon inv.). All the utensils were of cast iron except for a few kettles of tin, one or two vessels of copper and some jars of earthenware. This accounts for half the utensils for which the material is specified. One naturally expects that in a place where an industry producing cast-iron products was located, most of the utensils in a worker's home would have been of cast iron.

Consumption of food. As against the French régime, the furniture and place settings were sufficient for each member of the household. In the preceding century, a bench or a chest served as seats and one ate with a minimum of utensils. In this respect one notices the increasing comfort in the 19th century - the chairs were numerous and the place settings varied and plentiful. The dishes consisted of the following:

Plates: big and small, concave and flat; references to earthenware and faience (Fig. 41);

Bowls: references to earthenware and faience (Fig. 41);

Dishes: big and small; references to earthenware, stoneware, faience, in white and blue faience and in tinplate (Fig. 42).

It is difficult to quantify the number of plates, bowls and dishes in any definitive way because the notarial descriptions are not detailed and sometimes restrict themselves to grouping objects together:

"Un lot de vaisselle" (Sawyer inv., Lewis inv., Comeau-Chailloux inv., Pellerin inv., Cook inv.);
Forks: unspecified, except for some with a silver handle (Anderson inv.) or with a horn handle (Robichon inv.) (Fig. 43);
Spoons: big and small; table, soup and tea: generally mentioned in pewter, in silver (Anderson inv. and Comeau inv.) or in iron (Fig. 44);
Knives: unspecified, except for some with silver handles (Anderson inv.) or horn handle (Robichon inv.). In the 19th century, the use of knives became widespread (Fig. 37).

Even more than the tableware, the forks, spoons and knives were frequently inventoried in lots and stored in a cutlery box.

As for serving dishes, apart from plates, some sauce bowls and soup tureens are recorded. The latter were rather rare, compared to the number of soup cauldrons. This suggests that soup was served from the cauldron to the bowl or concave plate, without using a soup tureen. There are also several sugar bowls, but often these formed part of a tea service or were accompanied by a small milk jug.

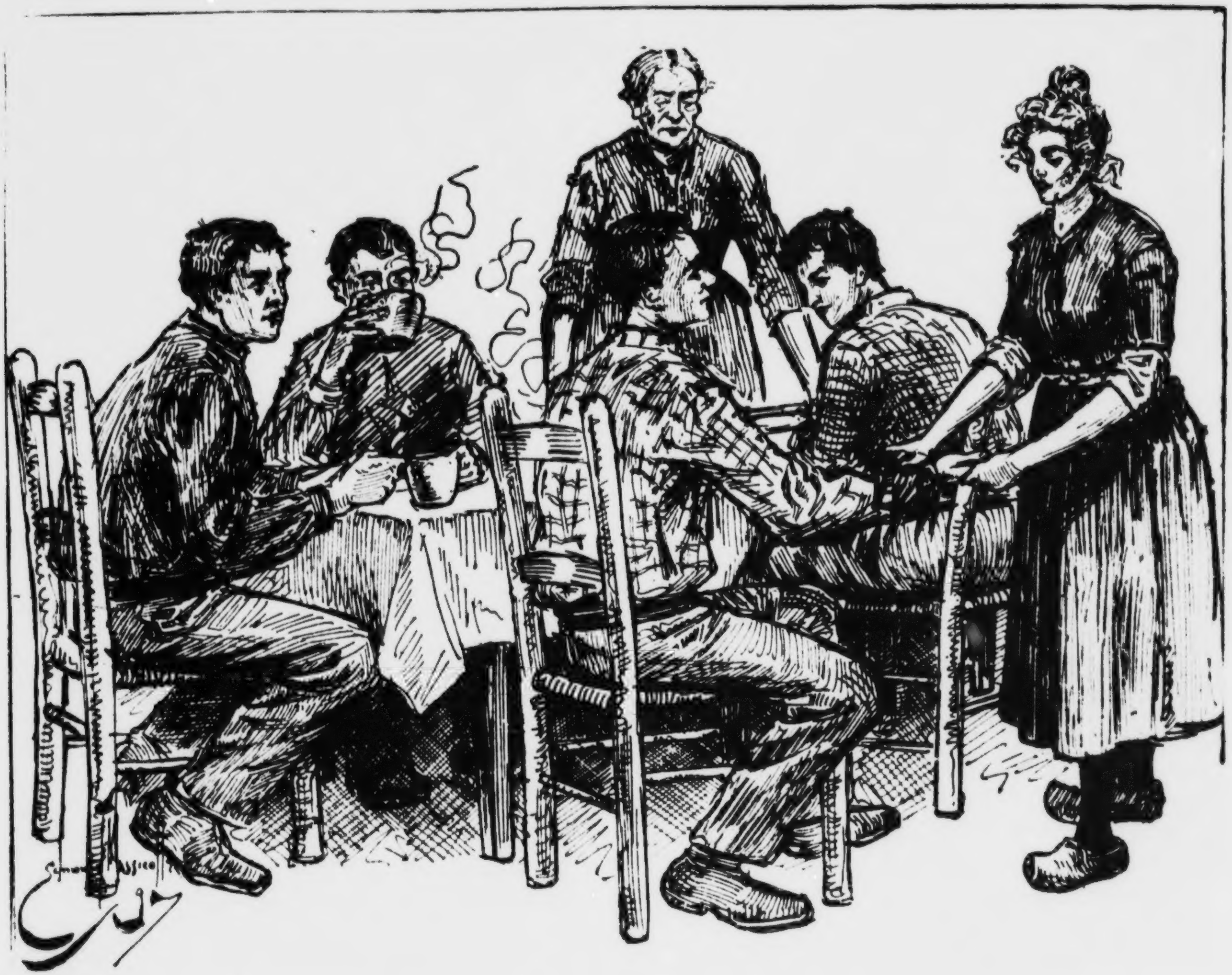


Figure 39. Drinking tea at the end of a meal ca. end of the 19th century.

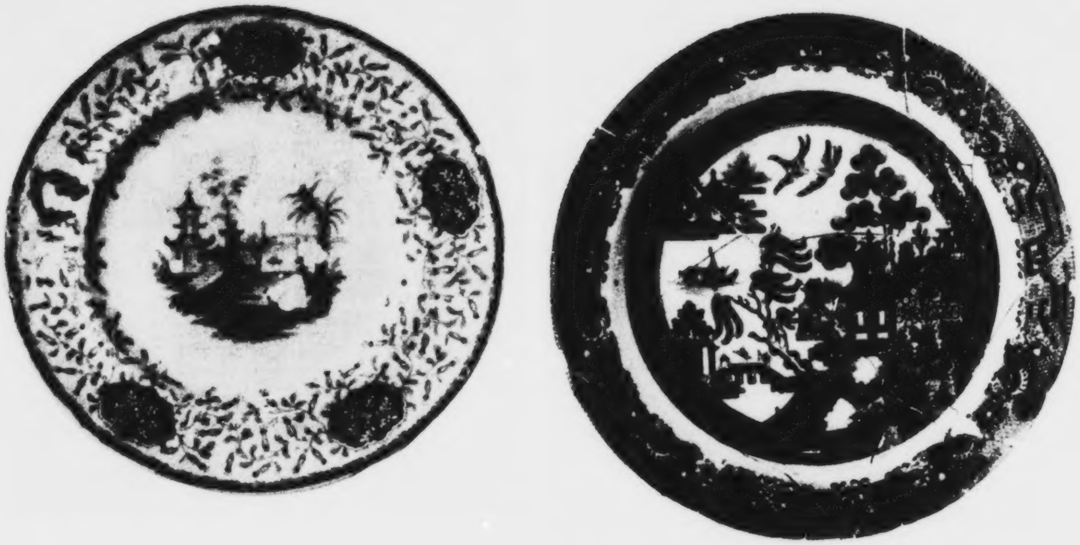


Figure 40. Plates in fine white terra cotta. Documents often mention blue and white plates in the 19th century.

Finally, the Anderson inventory contains, in addition, some mustard jars as well as a mustard spoon.

For drinking, there was quite an array of glasses, large and small, glasses with "paws," as they were called at the time, tumblers of glass, crystal, stoneware or tinplate. From one to 15 glasses or tumblers can be counted in a little more than half the inventories. Thus, in the 19th century, the use of the individual glass was spreading more and more, whether for drinking water, wine or alcohol, at table or between meals. It will be recalled that, under the French rule, one or two glasses, tumblers, jugs or drinking cups, common for all the diners, were the style. During this period there were few water jugs; but on the other hand, one or two carafes were frequently seen on the table.

Hot drinks, coffee and particularly tea were served in cups or in bowls together with saucers. Cups and bowls are inventoried by themselves, or as part of the tea service, including the teapot, milk jug and sugar bowl. Little information is generally available on the style of these cups, bowls and saucers. The few facts recorded relate to china and faience (Anderson inv., 1796) or even to faience with blue or white enamel or with a flower pattern (Terreau inv., 1830; Imbleau inv., 1845; Pellerin inv., 1845).

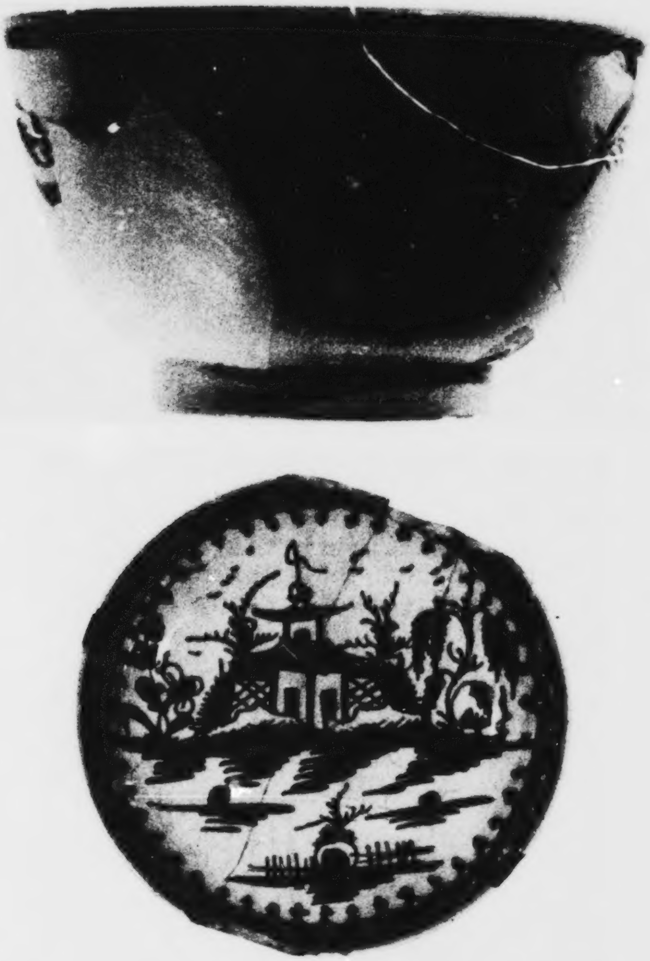


Figure 41. Saucer and bowl of pearlware - end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. The saucer from excavations in Artillery Park; potsherds of this type of ceramic have been unearthed at excavations in Les Forges du Saint-Maurice. The bowl comes from the excavation of a dwelling located on the plateau.

This whole range of tableware was used to set the table at mealtime. The table was covered with a tablecloth and the place setting for each person consisted of a plate, fork, a table-knife and spoon, as well as a vessel to drink from, most frequently a tumbler for cold drinks and a cup and saucer for tea. At this period, the table linen was much less important than during the French régime. Often people only owned one or two tablecloths; it would not be surprising that this would have appeared only on feast days. As for the table napkin, its use was completely abandoned.

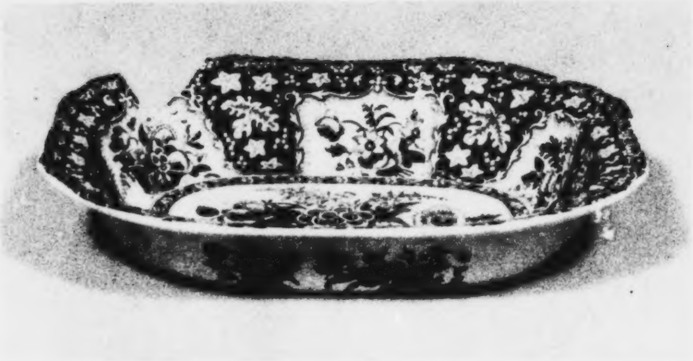


Figure 42. Fine white serving dish in terra cotta with filigree motif, 19th century. This type of dish, found in archaeological excavations in Artillery Park, has also been used in Les Forges as the excavations at this site indicated.

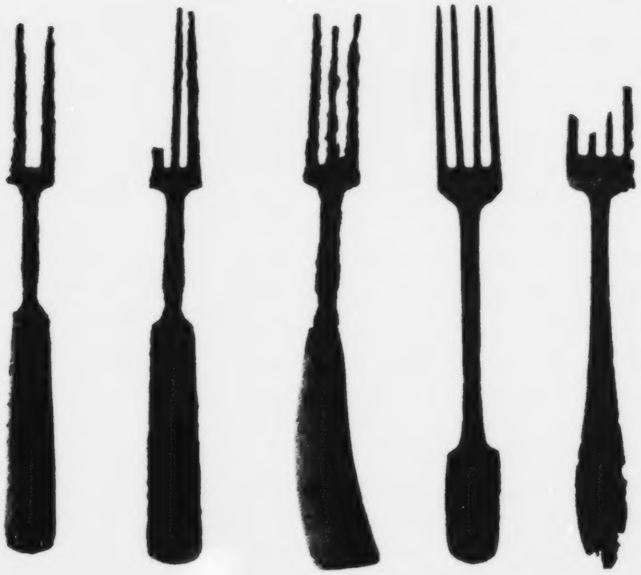


Figure 43. Steel forks, with steel, wood or bone handles, with two, three or four prongs.

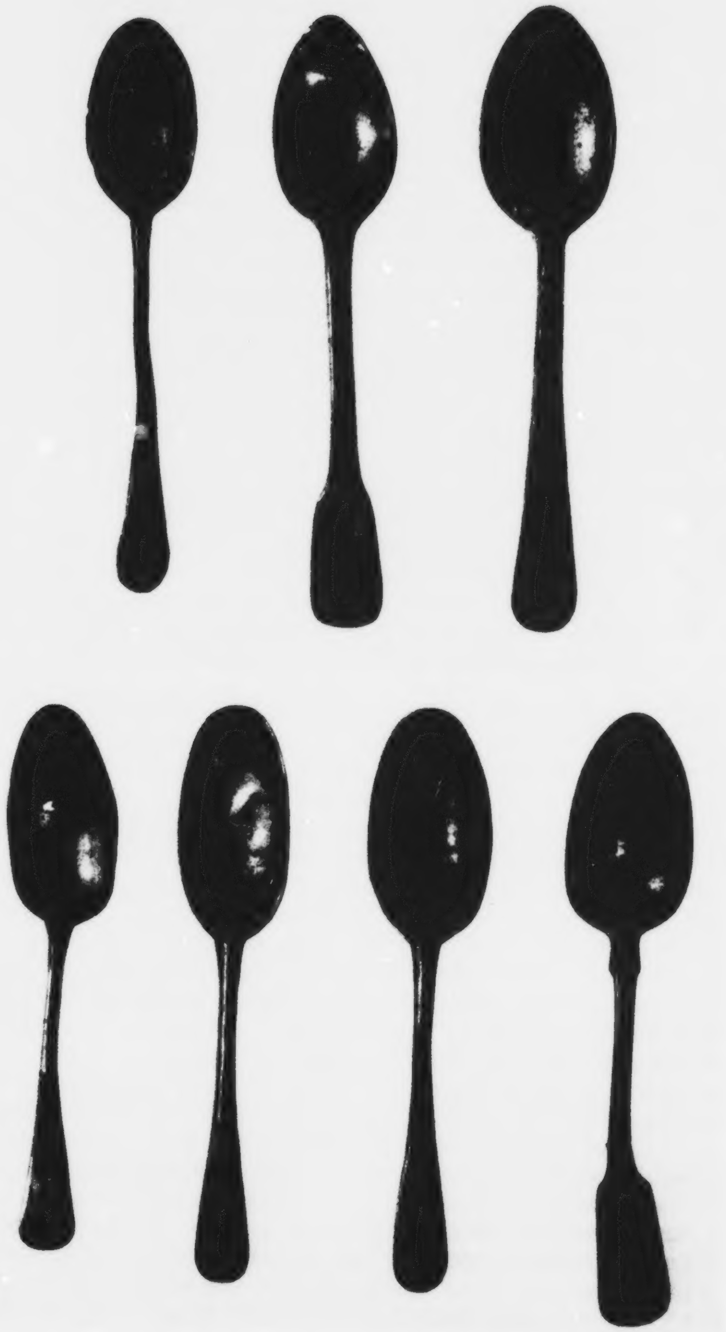


Figure 44. Large and small pewter spoons.

Mealtimes were regulated according to the workman's job. With the exception of the blast-furnace worker, he laboured from sunrise to sunset. Thus, breakfast and supper hours were arranged for before and after the working day. Dinner was eaten at home or at the workplace, in which case provisions were carried in a lunch-box (inv. of Aug. Gilbert, day labourer), or in a wicker basket.

Preservation of food. Each household contained a large number of glass, ceramic, wood or metal containers for preserving foodstuffs. These are briefly described, without precise details on the contents. The notary, if he was tired, often grouped them in lots. Therefore, let us quickly review these containers, made of different substances and with different shapes, depending on their use.

The glass containers comprised a multiplicity of bottles, some flasks and phials. The receptacles of earthenware were more varied; they ranged from the stoneware pitcher to a legion of pots, large and small in stoneware or coarse earthenware, including terrines. The wooden receptacles included all the cooperage articles, spanning a wide range: quarts, barrels, salting-tubs, firkins, and water pails as well as some wooden boxes, such as salt or tea boxes, for example. Metal receptacles were represented by a greater number of tinplate or varnished tinplate boxes or pots and some cast-iron pots.

Work and Chores

Daily tasks. Since the French régime, domestic tasks had changed little and the role of family members had not been altered. The tools for household work, unchanged, did not reduce or lighten the daily chores, except, however, for the stove, now used for cooking.

With the workman at his job, and his son or sons following in his footsteps, the woman laboured at home, helped by the elderly. Innumerable activities were repeated each day: fetching the water, watching the fires in the house, preparing the food and the meals, tending and educating the little ones, looking after the house, the linen and the clothes, and caring for the animals. In summer, the housewife worked in her garden and gathered wild fruit in the woods.

The man, back from work, had other jobs to do: cutting firewood (a second cutting, if needed) and transporting it, helping with the care of animals, particularly the horse, and looking after the carts. The workman did little carpentry at home; the saw, axe and hammer were the only tools found inside the houses, with the exception of some iron industry tools inventoried at some houses (Anderson inv., Tassé inv. and Cook inv.). Did people maintain the outside of their homes? It is doubtful, because only Terreau's inventory included whitewash and paint. Finally the workman, depending on the season, spent time hunting and fishing, thus combining work and pleasure.

Housekeeping. The thankless task of cleaning the house has certainly left the least trace in documents. It is easy to imagine or guess the effort needed to remove dust, dirt and stain. However, the attitude of the working class in Les Forges in the 19th century as to concepts of cleanliness and order is not known. Even if doors and windows were open very little, the housewives doubtless criticized the environment of an industrial area. No brush, no dustpan is listed, however, in the inventory; on the other hand, it was enough to have a few branches for a broom, the shovel from the hearth and some sort of cloth to have cleaning equipment. Brushes were also used to clean. Because they were used for different purposes, it is difficult to ascertain whether they were used for cleaning the house (floor broom), the toilet or clothes. One can sense, at this time, greater attention being paid to the inside of the home. Certain decorative elements like the framed pictures and prints were introduced to adorn the walls. Birdcages were also found in rooms. Furniture, used for storage purposes, was more numerous than under French rule, which without doubt, made for more order in the room.

Care of linen and clothes. Bed, table and bathroom linen, as well as the clothes from the wardrobe of the entire household, required attention. They became worn, and needed mending. They got dirty and had to be washed. This meant having a wash-day, a considerable undertaking. If the custom of washing at St. Pierre on Ile d'Orléans at the end of the 19th century was adopted, it would take place twice a year, in autumn and in spring.[86] Vats, small tubs, and buckets, reported in every dwelling, were used for this task. Another article of the washerwomen was a beater mentioned in only one inventory, that of Comeau-Chailloux; any object of similar shape could be used as a substitute. The linen and clothes, once washed with lye were hung out and dried with the help of the beater. There were of course more sketchy washes between these big affairs.

Some of the linen and clothes were stretched, folded and put away, others were ironed. Ironing was done on the dining room table with an iron, heated beforehand on the hearth or the stove. Generally two irons were kept, thus enabling them to be used alternately.

Making linen and clothes. To judge from the inventories, workmen's wives did not make cloth at home. This is easily explained: flax was not grown at Les Forges and sheep were not raised. It is significant that

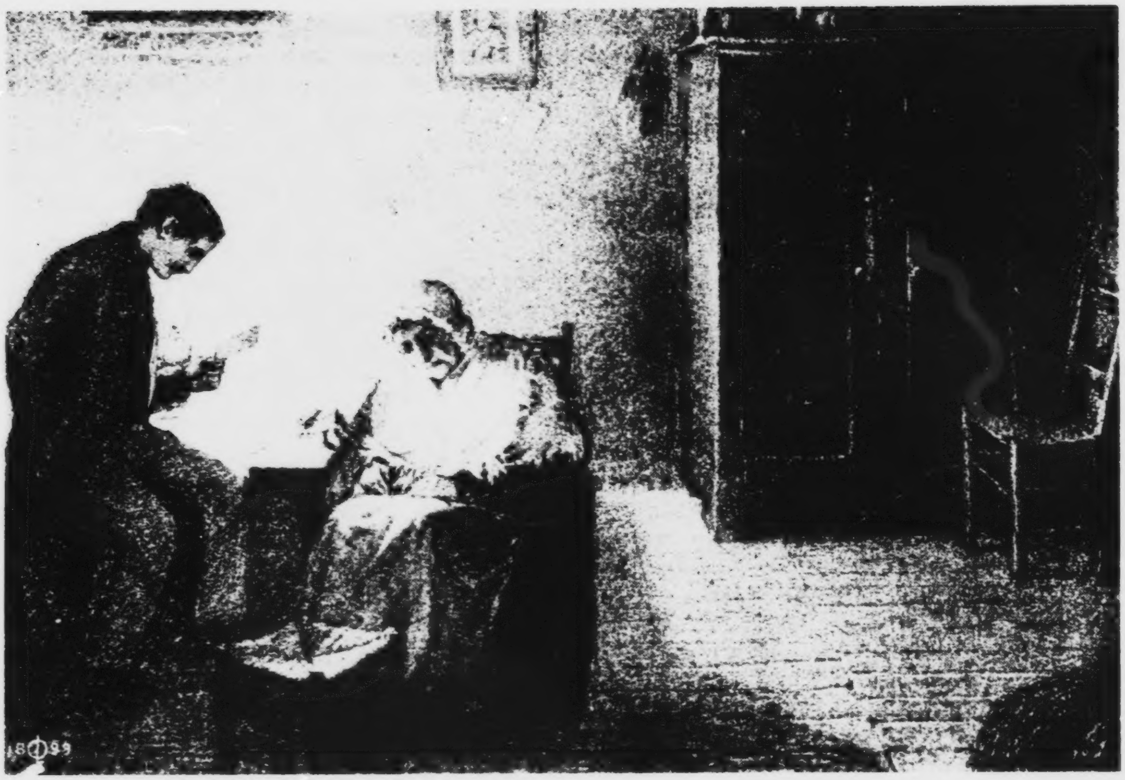


Figure 45. Woman knitting while listening to her son. In the corner a sideboard and chair, on the wall a print.

Comeau-Chailloux, living at Pointe-du-Lac, worked both at his job at Les Forges and also grew flax. The property inventory of his joint estate includes a spinning wheel, a winder, and 18 bundles of tow. Towards the 1860s, agriculture and animal husbandry grew in importance in the Les Forges area. In consequence, flax growing and sheep raising entailed converting the products. In 1865, an article in the *Journal des Trois-Rivières* about the way of life in the villages of Les Forges and St. Etienne mentioned that the women spun wool and flax and made clothes.[87]

The article also stated that people believed workmen's wives made some of their clothes. Dressmaking equipment was rudimentary and consisted of knitting needles, a pair of scissors and a thimble (sometimes of silver, J.B. Gilbert inv.) (Figs. 46-49). What material the workman's wife had available is not known. The inventories are silent on this subject and it is impossible to know if the company shop sold dry goods.

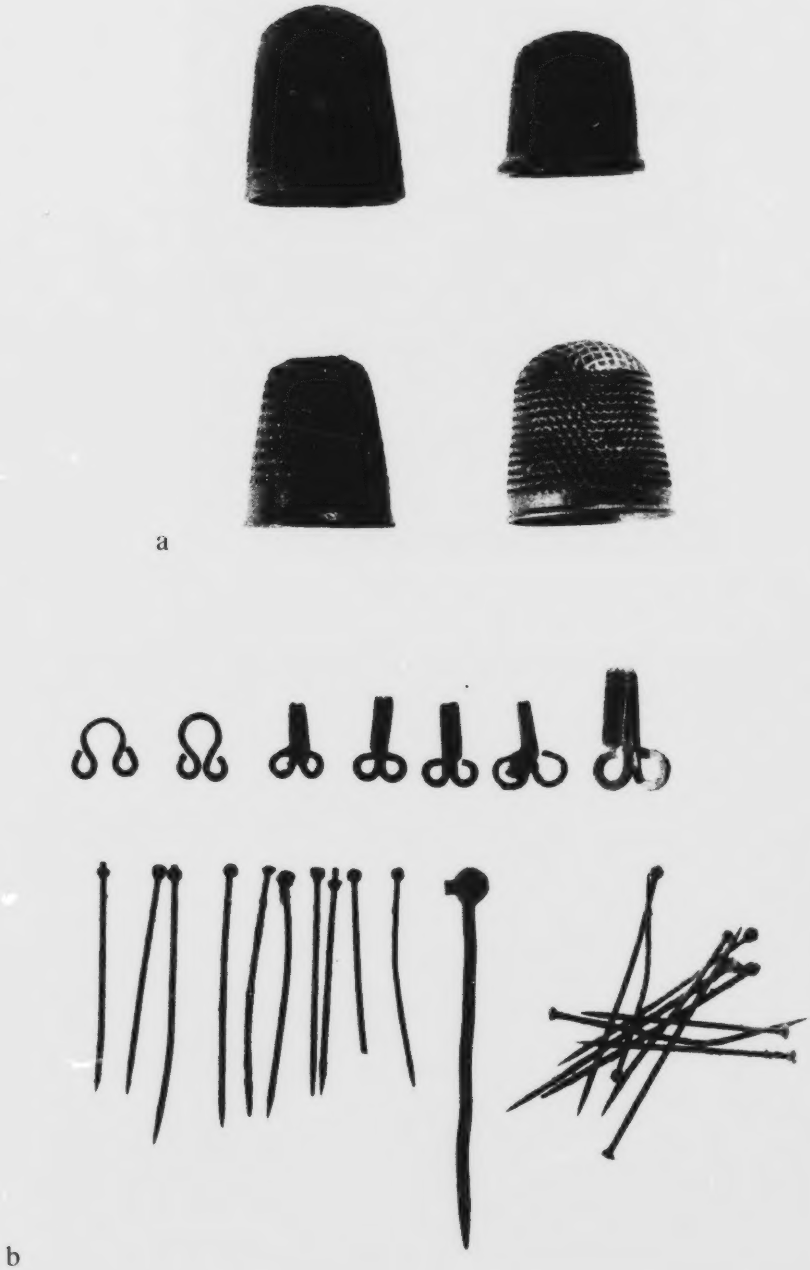


Figure 46. a) Sewing thimbles; b) Hooks and pins. These illustrations bear witness to dressmaking activities at Les Forges.

Man

Dress

The attire of the inhabitant of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice is once more revealed to us by the notary peering into the armoire, the chest and the chest of drawers of a joint estate. As far as clothes are concerned, the post-mortem inventory of this period, 1793-1845, hardly differs from that of of the French régime. The same caution must accompany any analysis of the document: the appraisal of the clothes was not mandatory, as these could be considered personal belongings, protected by a clause in the marriage contract. This applied particularly to the children's clothes, about which, at this period, no information has been gathered.

Nonetheless, in proportion to the number of inventories of the two periods under comparison, the details on clothing at the beginning of the 19th century are more numerous. Clothing was numerous and also more varied, a sign of the times, as we observed in the case of domestic property. Of 22 inventories, 14 contain some descriptions of clothing: 11 relate to workmen and three to administrators (one superintendent and two clerks) - mainly between the years 1796 and 1820, with the exception of one in 1834. Later on the clothes were appraised in lots, thus depriving us of the items and details. Table 24 enables us to learn the proportion of women's clothes in relation to men's, as well as the value of the clothes of Les Forges inhabitants, except for those of J. Houle and A. Cook, who lived for a time at Les Forges and then took up residence in Three Rivers.

Table 24. References to clothes in the inventories

Date of Inventory	Name	Job	Women's Clothes	Men's Clothes	Value of Clothes	Total Value of Property
1796	J. Anderson	Moulder	x	x	-	7296L
1799	J.B. Gilbert	Forgeman	x		114L 12s	358L 13s
1804	A. Gilbert	Day labourer	x	x	119L	843L 10s
1804	J. Pullman	Clerk		x	123L 12d	-
1807	P.N. Robichon	Forgeman	x		22L 3s	1239L
1807	J. Moussette	Moulder	x	x	234L 17s	1608L 8s
1808	J. Houle	Day labourer		x	109L 6s	297L 2s
1810	C. Lacommande	Baker		x	73L 10s	475L 3s
1810	L. Lamothe	Forgeman	x		131L 8s	871L 10s
1811	J. Tassé	Blacksmith	x		110L 8s	1064L 11s
1816	M. Sawyer	Quarryman	x		39L 6s	708L 6s
1820	Z. MacAulay	Superintendent		x	-	-
1820	J. Munro	Clerk		x	-	-
1834	T. Cochrane	Blacksmith	x	x	570L	689L 2s
1830	J. Rivard	Day labourer	1 lot		1L 4s	322L 8s
1851	J. Michelin	Forest Ranger	1 lot		192L	1455L 8s
1853	A. Cook	Blacksmith	1 lot		31L 10s	1156L

Thus we posses nine descriptions of the male wardrobe and seven of the female (the informtion contained in the inventory of J. Moussette and T. Cochrane being fragmentary). This table, based on the references to clothing, gives us a glimpse of the conditions of life and provides a view of the first inequality in peoples' existences. The descriptions of clothing relate more to the inventory of skilled workers (except for three day labourers) and of the three administrators.

The value of the clothing is uneven, varying from 70L to 230L, with an average of 150L, with the exception of the two extreme values of 40L and 487L. They represent from a tenth to half of the total household goods. Generally in relation to these, clothing came after furniture, animals, vehicles, house and bed linen in importance. Only in two cases was this category of property given priority: in J.B. Gilbert's and T. Cochrane's, where it constituted one of the two highest values in their household goods. However, it is not necessary to devote too much attention to value, this being estimated in relation to wear. From a social viewpoint, the fact is significant, but individual comparisons are more troublesome, particularly in those cases where the age of the individuals varies.

If for several workers, clothing was limited to the strictly necessary and was, on the whole, modest, it was otherwise for certain other workers: J. Anderson and his wife, J. Moussette, T. Cochrane, the wife of J. Tassé and the three administrators, Z. MacAulay, J. Pullman and J. Munro. Let us look at, in detail, the information obtained on the workman's costume, the administrator's and the woman's.

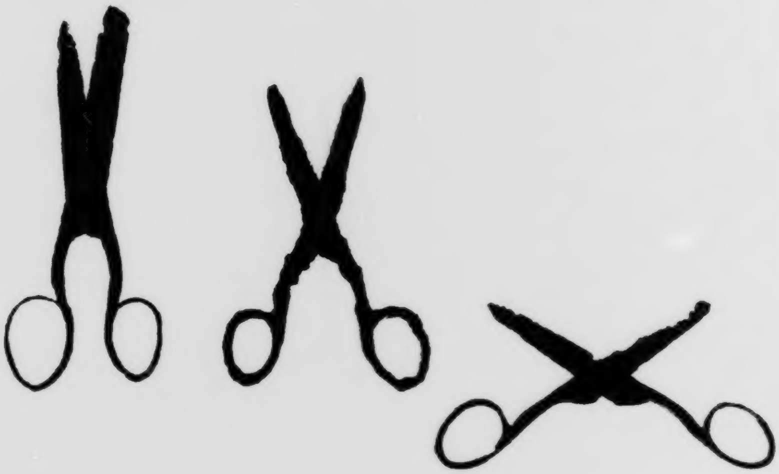


Figure 47. Scissors.

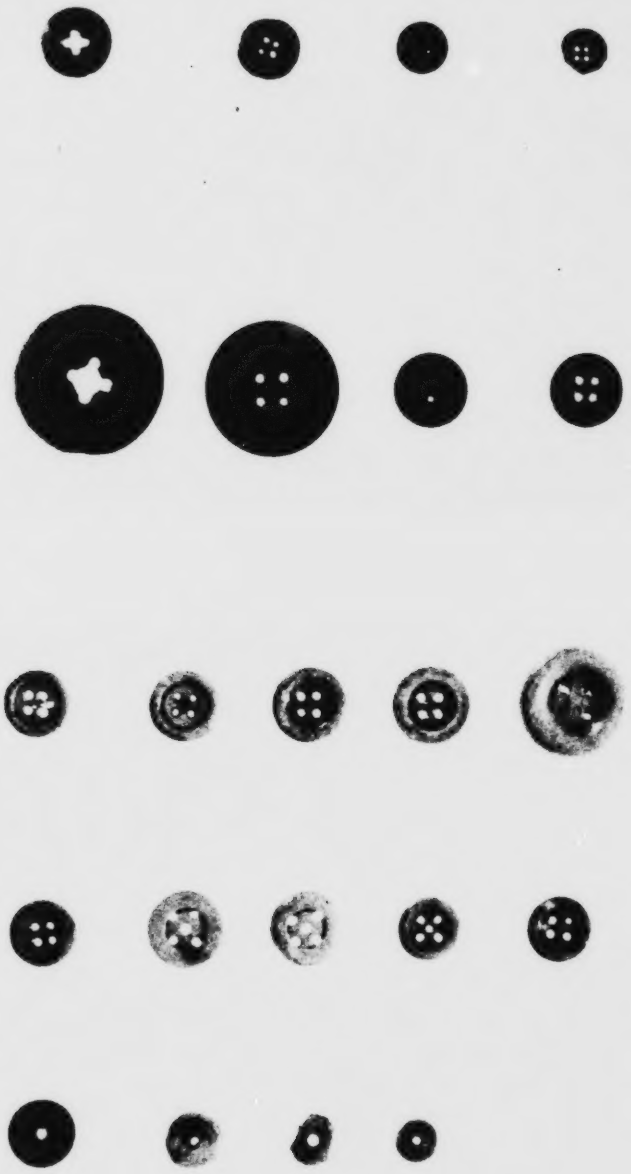


Figure 48. Horn and wood buttons from different periods of administration at Les Forges.

Workman's clothing. The workman's costume was composed of the following elements.

* Shirts of cotton, wool (sometimes red), flannel, some fine shirts of cloth or Irish linen. A tie was sometimes worn with the shirt - cotton (Cochrane inv.), silk (Moussette inv.), or muslin (Anderson inv.).

* Jacket or waistcoat of cloth, heavy material or swanskin.

* Breeches of heavy material, cloth, linen, nankeen, cashmere; on occasion, of black satin matching a jacket (Anderson inv.).

* The cloth suit deserves special attention in that it was the prerogative of only some workmen. Anderson's inventory records a black cloth suit, another of brown cloth and two other short coats (the short suit included a short jacket, but not a long jerkin any more). Moussette's inventory mentions three suits; that of Houle lists one suit of blue cloth and that of Cochrane one of green cloth.

* Underwear is rarely mentioned, doubtless because of its small value: two references to underpants of wool or flannel.

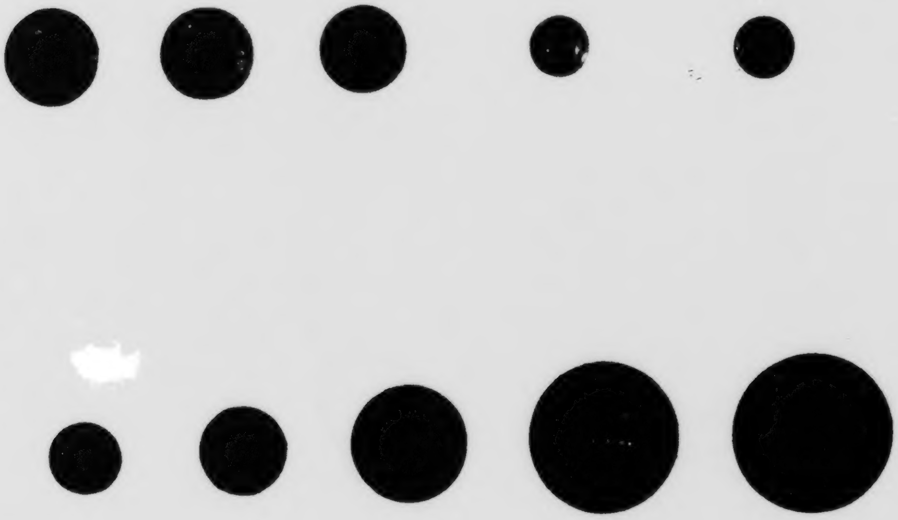


Figure 49. Metal buttons used at different periods at Les Forges.

* The stockings and socks were of wool, cotton, or more sophisticated, of silk and cotton (Anderson inv.), held up by garters (Anderson inv.).

* Footwear is seldom mentioned: four references to shoes, two to boots and one to ankle-boots.

* For outdoors, the workman wore, according to the inventories, a cloth cape described by the words "cloque" from the English term "cloak" and the bonnet, also of cloth. The workman, Anderson, owned three frock-coats and, an affectation much in fashion at the time, a lynx fur tippet. With the overcoat there was a cloth belt (3 references) (Fig. 50).

* Headwear was varied: the hat, the bonnet (called blue for one case and Scotch for Cochrane), the cap, the straw hat and the coif.

* For the hands, gloves (3 references) and mittens (1 reference).

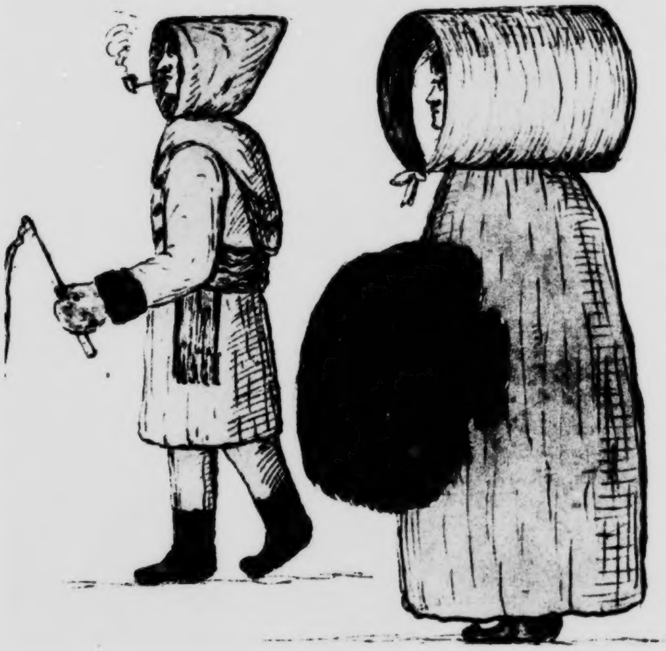


Figure 50. "A Canadian man and woman in their winter dress, Quebec, Canada, Nov. 21, 1805."

* References to pocket handkerchiefs are frequent (App. M).

Articles of clothing, drawn individually from the inventories of property of some ironworks' workers, provide information on the workmen's wardrobe, but what was the overall appearance of the costume? Were the clothes worn on Sundays and holidays or on workdays? The finest, the newest, and, particularly the suits, were without doubt reserved for holidays, the working attire being made up of old clothes. Only one working outfit is recorded, that is a leather apron (Cochrane inv.). This article was perhaps

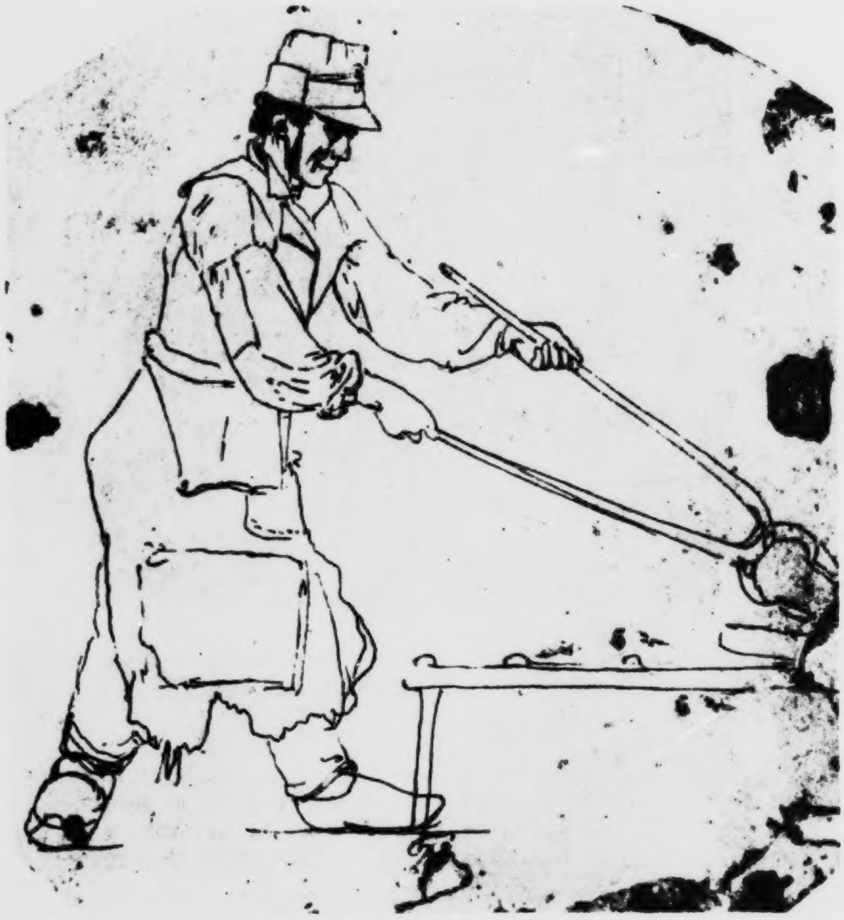


Figure 51. Working clothes of a French forgeman in the 19th century. He is wearing an apron and shoes, which appear to be wooden shoes.

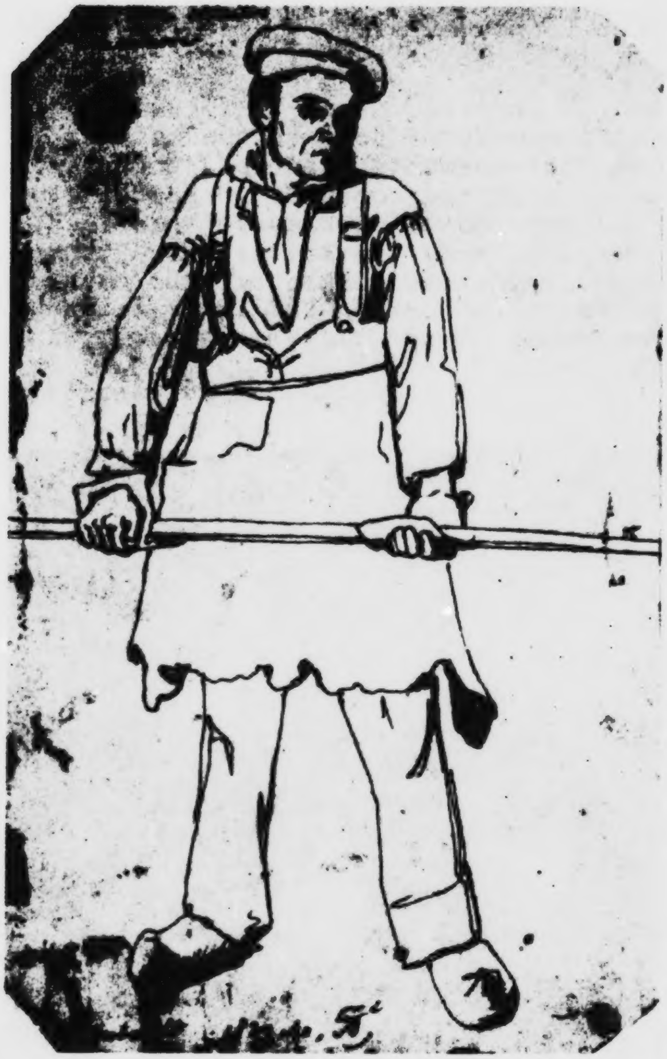


Figure 52. Working clothes of a French labourer in the 19th century. Note the apron and wooden shoes.

supplied by the employer and kept in the workshop. Besides, did the workman in the forge or blast-furnace wear special shoes? In the illustrations of forgemen or stokers in French forges or blast-furnaces in the 19th century, they were still wearing wooden shoes (Figs. 51, 52, 53). This is doubtless the ideal footwear to provide good insulation against the heat of the ground. Finally did the workman at the ironworks dress according to the taste of the day or according to a traditional fashion? It is always possible to examine some of the literature of travellers at the time and, at the risk of obtaining a partial description, see how the travellers viewed the Canadian attire, whether it be the "Habitant" or the workman. Here, for example, is the commentary of John Lambert, in his journal of 1808, about the Canadian's costume:

> The dress of the Habitant is simple and homely; it consists of a long-skirted cloth coat or frock, of a dark gray colour, with a hood attached to it, which in winter time or wet weather he puts over his head. His coat is tied round the waist by a worsted sash of various colours ornamented with beads. His waistcoat and trowsers are of the same cloth. A pair of mocassins, or swamp-boots, complete the lower part of his dress. His hair is tied in a thick long queue behind, with an eelskin; and on each side of his face a few straight locks hang down like what are vulgarly called "rat's tails."
>
> Upon his head is a bonnet rouge, or, in other words, a red nightcap. The tout ensemble of his figure is completed by a short pipe, which he has in his mouth from morning till night. ... It is, in fact, a portrait of five-sixths of the male inhabitants of Lower Canada. It is very seldom that any alteration takes place in

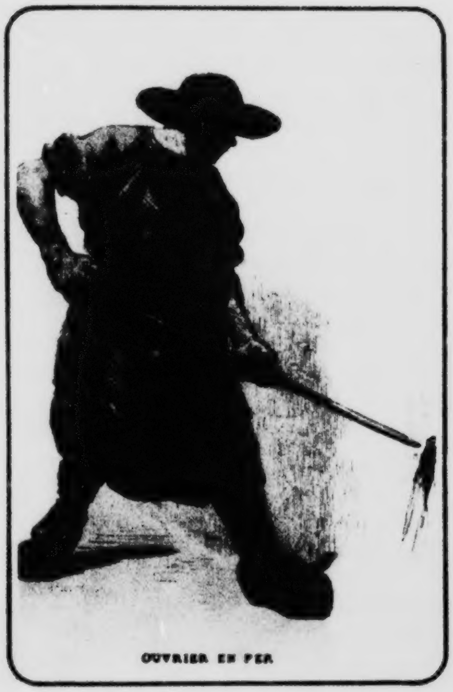


Figure 53. Worker in the steel industry in France during the 19th century - note the wooden shoes.

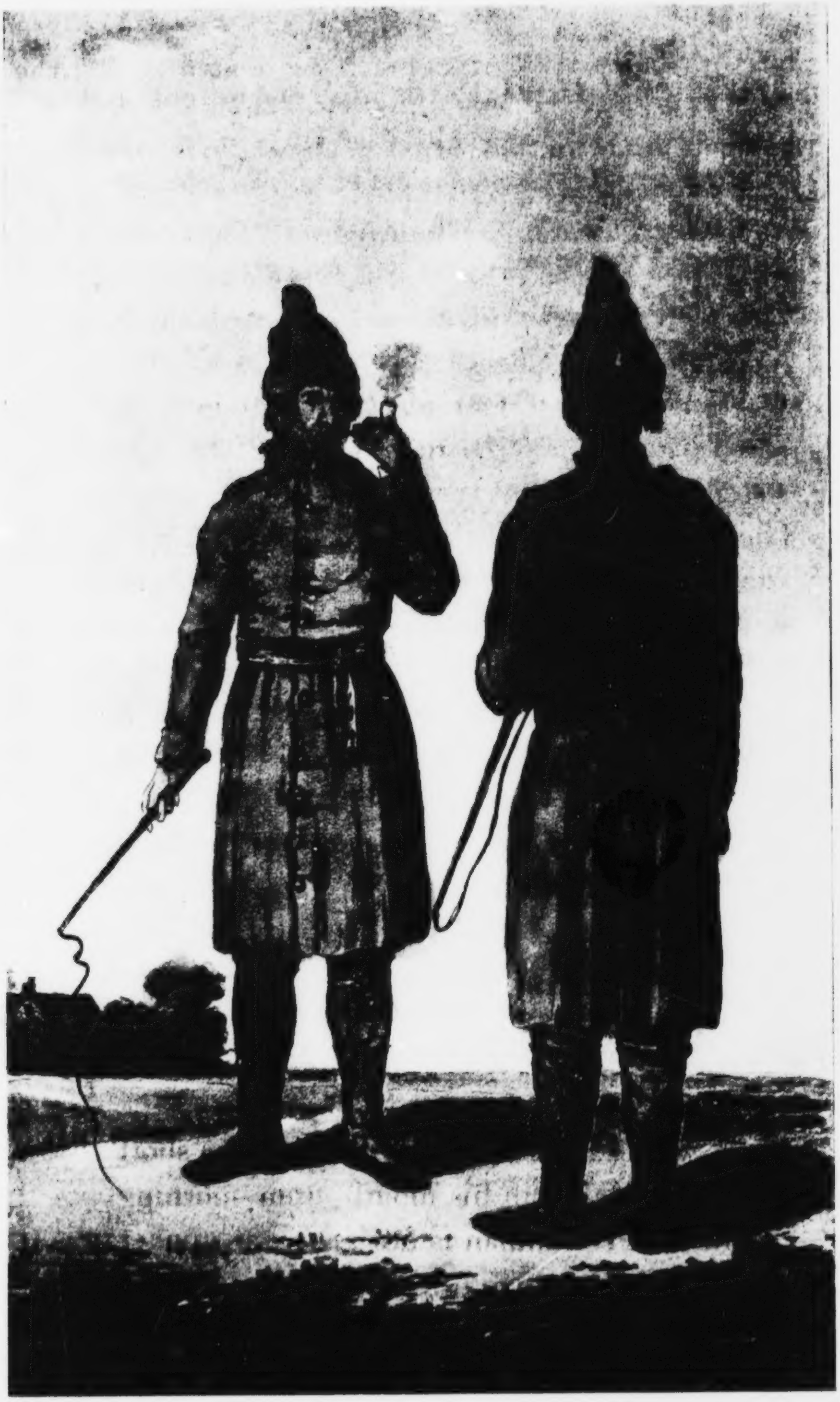


Figure 54. Habitant.

> the dress of men; unless in summer the long coat is exchanged for a jacket, and the bonnet rouge for a straw hat ...

This description of the habitant's costume by John Lambert, although very brief, does disclose the conservative attitude of the Canadians as to their style of dress, an attitude strongly influenced by tradition, and doubtless dictated by economic priorities or personal taste (Fig. 54).

Some clothing accessories should not be passed over as they deserve special attention: in particular umbrellas, snowshoes and skates as well as jewellery. In the first quarter of the 19th century the use of the umbrella apparently became fashionable. All the inventories of property including items of dress mention at least one umbrella. In winter, the snowshoes, to judge from the same document, became more popular than at the time of the French régime. Finally, and this is a new fact, there is one reference to a pair of skates (Anderson inv.). Jewellery was seldom estimated: a single gold wedding ring or three silver watches were inventoried. Wearing a watch came into fashion in America at the end of the 18th century.[89]

The administrator's clothes. The superintendent Zacharie MacAulay's style of dress and that of the clerks John Pullman and John Munro were certainly more stylish and sophisticated that that of the workers. With their suit they wore a shirt and tie or neckerchief (Fig. 55). Their wardrobe was also very much larger. The enumeration of the items in their apparel proves this convincingly.

Zacharie MacAulay owned 14 flannel shirts, 12 cotton shirts and 12 cloth shirts, 14 ties and five others of black silk, two suits, one long, one short, 18 jackets and two pairs of trousers. The inventory of John Pullman shows 11 shirts, one of flannel, one in thick cloth and 11 others in cloth, five ties of cambric, four suits, two blue, one black and one grey, ten jackets of cashmere and cloth, of fustian and of nankeen, as well as 14 pairs of breeches, some of nankeen, some of cloth. John Munro also had a very well-equipped wardrobe: 11 shirts, of which ten were of Irish linen, 28 neckerchiefs, six suits, five of which were cloth (among others one in black and one in red) one in drill, 20 jackets (eight black and one lined in leather) three flannel waistcoats, 12 pairs of nankeen and drill breeches, as well as seven pairs of trousers (blue, white and black). John Munro further owned a pair of leather gaiters.

For outside wear, these three men were no less elegant and well dressed to face the cold. Each one had two work coats (John Munro also had a cape), two hats (Zacharie MacAulay also had one of marten), at least one pair of boots as well as a pair of overshoes.

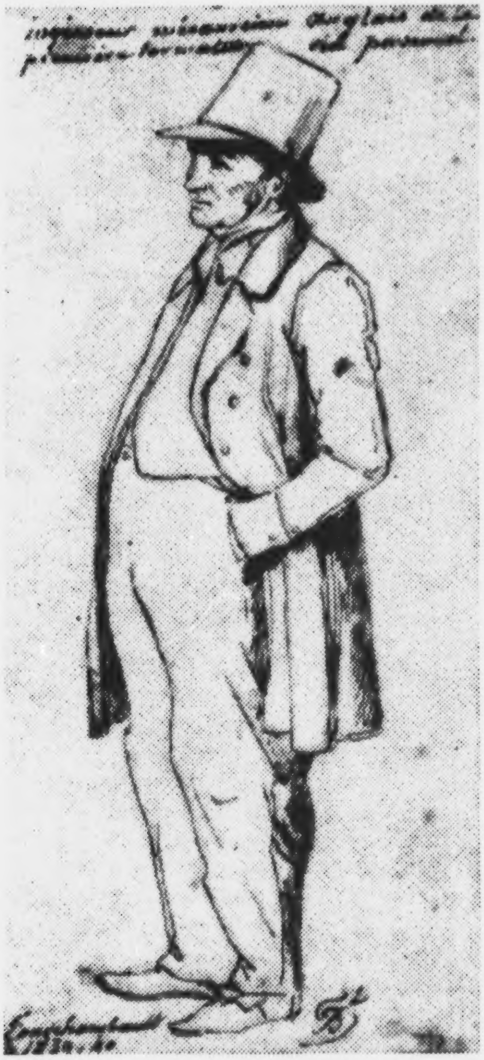


Figure 55. Dress of an English mechanical engineer in 19th century.

They even possessed a button hook to unbutton their boots; the three men all wore bonnets: John Munro had as many as 11 (App. N).

Some personal objects are mentioned in these inventories: glasses (Pullman), purse, wallet, shoe buckles, and by no means the least, a gold watch. The accessories of a militia captain such as Zacharie MacAulay must also be added: two swords and one belt.

Women's clothing. The women's wardrobe included the following items:

* Blouses of Irish linen or local linen sometimes decorated with a jabot (Anderson inv.).
* The petticoats were usually of calico, drugget, local

material as well as cotton, *carisé*, dimity[90], calemande and silk. This item of attire was very common, much more so than a dress.

* The skirt in drugget or in local material. Only two references have been found in the inventories of Robichon and of Lamothe.
* The dress of calico or batiste.
* Sometimes the dressing gown of calico (Anderson inv. and Tassé inv.).
* No mention of underwear except for a "body" (Anderson inv.) and two corsets (Robichon inv.).
* The apron is rarely mentioned except for one used in fine weather in muslin or in fine linen (Anderson inv.).
* For headwear the coif was used (the Anderson lady owned 16 in muslin). There is also a nightcap.
* Stockings were of wool or cotton.
* Shoes scarcely appear in the deeds. There are only three references in all.

For outside wear clothes were numerous, if one thinks back to the period of the French régime when information was scarce.

* The tippet was certainly much worn. It was made from calico, local material or dimity. It was often matched with the skirt or underskirt. The cape was also worn (three mentions), the fur-lined cloak (three mentions), the cloak (two mentions), the frock-coat (two mentions).
* The shawl in wool, sometimes in muslin or Indian silk (Anderson inv.) was very popular.
* The fur tippet, one in wolf's fur (Anderson inv. and Lamothe inv.).
* For the hands, silk or cloth gloves are frequently mentioned. In cold weather sometimes a muff of marten or of wolf's fur was worn (four references).
* Headwear, the hat, cap of marten, sometimes a veil or just a shawl.
* Round the neck the neckerchief. Sometimes the pocket handkerchief and purses are also mentioned (App. 0).

Did the workman's wife at Les Forges follow the fashion of the day or a very traditional style? We are inclined to believe that the traditional style was usually followed. Several garments were cut from material of local manufacture - shirts of local linen, underskirts, skirts, tippets and coats of local material, and drugget and stockings of wool. Calico was used to make underskirts, skirts and tops. It was a material much in fashion during the 18th century.

To be better informed, the commentaries of travellers on the style of dress of Canadian women can be read. John Lambert, in the course of his journey in 1808, sketches a portrait of the Canadian woman:

> The dress of the women is old-fashioned; for the

> articles which compose it never find their way into Canada until they have become stale in England. I am now speaking of those who deck themselves out in printed cotton gowns, muslin aprons, shawls, and handerchiefs; but there are numbers who wear only cloth of their own manufacture ... A petticoat and short jacket is the most prevailing dress; though some frequently decorate themselves in all the trappings of modern finery but which, in point of fashion, are generally a few years behind those of Europe. The elderly women still adhere to long waists, full caps, and large clubs of hair behind.

Speaking of winter the traveller never failed to dwell upon clothes designed for a severe climate (Fig. 50). Lambert describes the woman's winter apparel in this way;

> The ladies wear fur caps, muffs and tippets, velvet or cloth pelisses or great coats; with list shoes or Shetland hose, the same as the gentlemen. I have seen several French country-women come into town on the severest days without either fur cap or bonnet. Their heads were dressed in the old-fashioned style with a long braid behind, and above a large stiff muslin cap. They wore printed cotton gowns, ornamented with large flowers similar to a bed pattern, of which they are generally very fond, with long waists. Over their neck was a white muslin hankerchief or coloured shawl: their appearance altogether put one more in mind of summer than winter.[92]

From the reports of this traveller, notwithstanding a certain prejudice, the Canadian women hardly paid attention to the fashions of the day. The portrait given above may be applied to the wife of the ironworks worker. Was one not, after all, in this place, far from the major urban centres of Quebec City and Montreal? Further, it must be recalled that at this period clothes lasted a long time. Besides the word "worn" is frequently mentioned in notarial deeds and gives the impression of old and aged. Moreover the inventories generally apply to the property of people of middle or advanced age for whom tradition had a stronger influence than with the young.

Hygiene

Clothes lead us to hygiene. Although toilet articles were classed as personal property, the post-mortem inventories disclose several diverse items. The most frequently mentioned objects are for hair-dressing, the case of combs,

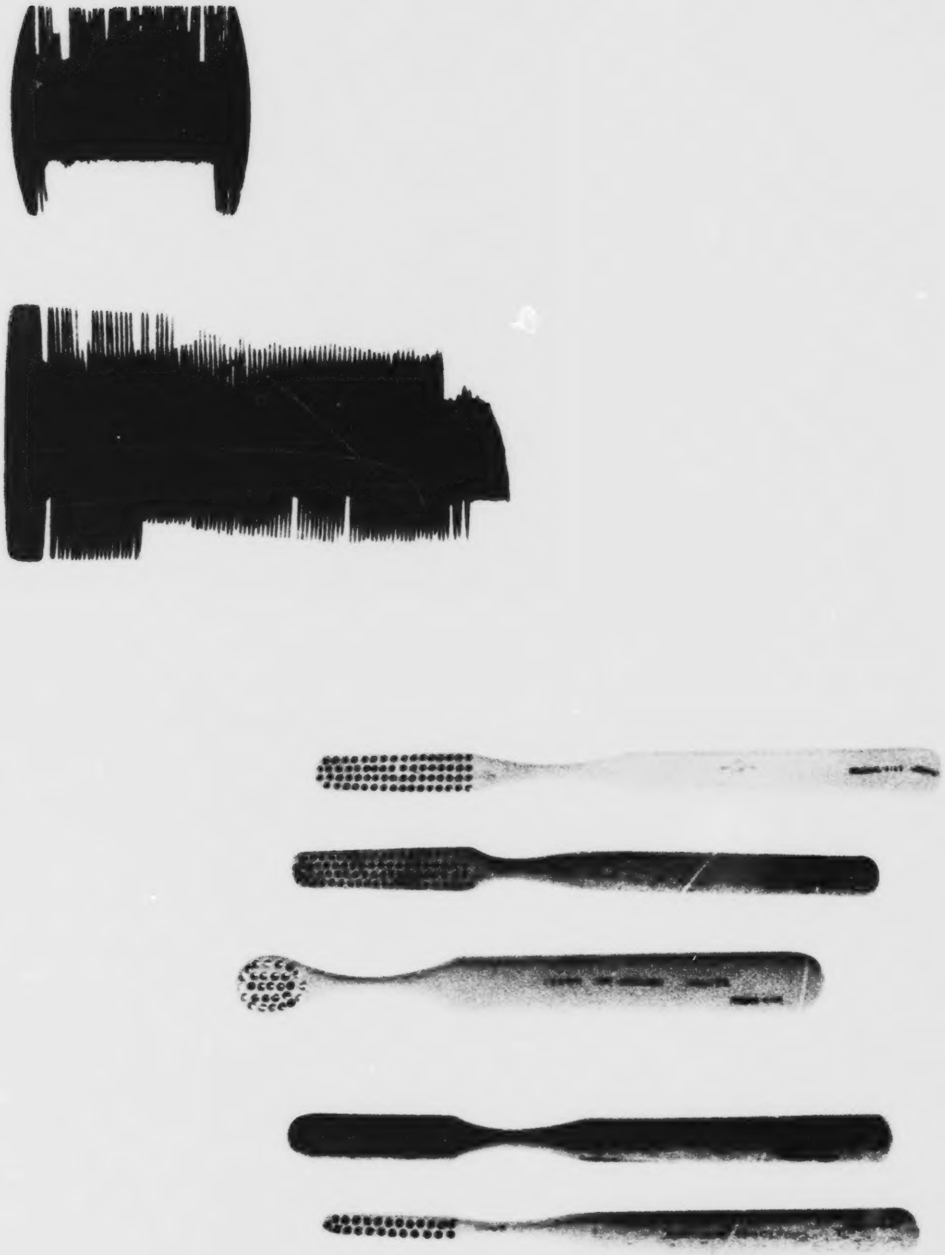


Figure 56. Toilet articles: combs and tooth brushes.

the curling iron (Anderson inv.) and for trimming the beard, a razor, its leather case or box, the shaving brush and mirror. Archaeological excavations have disclosed the use of tooth brushes for cleaning the teeth (Fig. 56). One finds few towels but rather some hand towels. At this period, there are many more references to chamber-pots than under the French régime; it is not unusual to find more than one in people's homes.

The wash-stand was introduced at this time - a piece of furniture on which the water jug and basin were placed (Comeau inv.).

Illness

The secrets of folk medicine will not make the headlines in our material. The only fragments of information gathered about the health and sickness of the workers concern their visits to the surgeons of Three Rivers, François Rieutard, George Carter and Louis Talbot, Christopher Carter and Guilmore (the last two from Montreal). Visits to the doctor necessitated on the part of the workers and their families a trip to the town of Three Rivers; after the French régime, no surgeon was sent to provide services at Les Forges.

Eleven post-mortem inventories of workers record, in the liabilities column, amounts owing to these surgeons. The analysis of the post-mortem inventory of the surgeon François Rieutard in 1819 reveals about 50 debts contracted by Les Forges workmen for medical care and drugs.[93]

These debts varied from 1 L to 489 L. Nonetheless 58 percent of these debts did not exceed 50 L and 26 percent were below 10 L. Thus long ilnesses requiring medical assistance were not frequent at Les Forges.

Recreation

Evenings and holidays offered an opportunity for fun and recreation. What entertainment did the workman and their families at Les Forges prefer?

Patronage of the taverns at Three Rivers by the workmen can be mentioned. This is confirmed by the number of debts incurred by the workers to the inn- and tavern-keepers in Three Rivers, as well as the number of lawsuits. Some workmen merely took a little stroll to the furnace, to the workshop or to a neighbour's house to smoke a pipe or enjoy a glass. There were also the evening entertainments where people sang, told stories, danced the cotillion, the "set carré" and the rigadoon. The patron-saint's day of St. Eloi and St. Thibault offered an opportunity for merriment although it is not possible to say if these festivities still persisted under the administration of Mathew Bell. Through the deposition of Nicolas-Edmond Lacroix, an engineer at the ironworks in 1848, it is learned that the

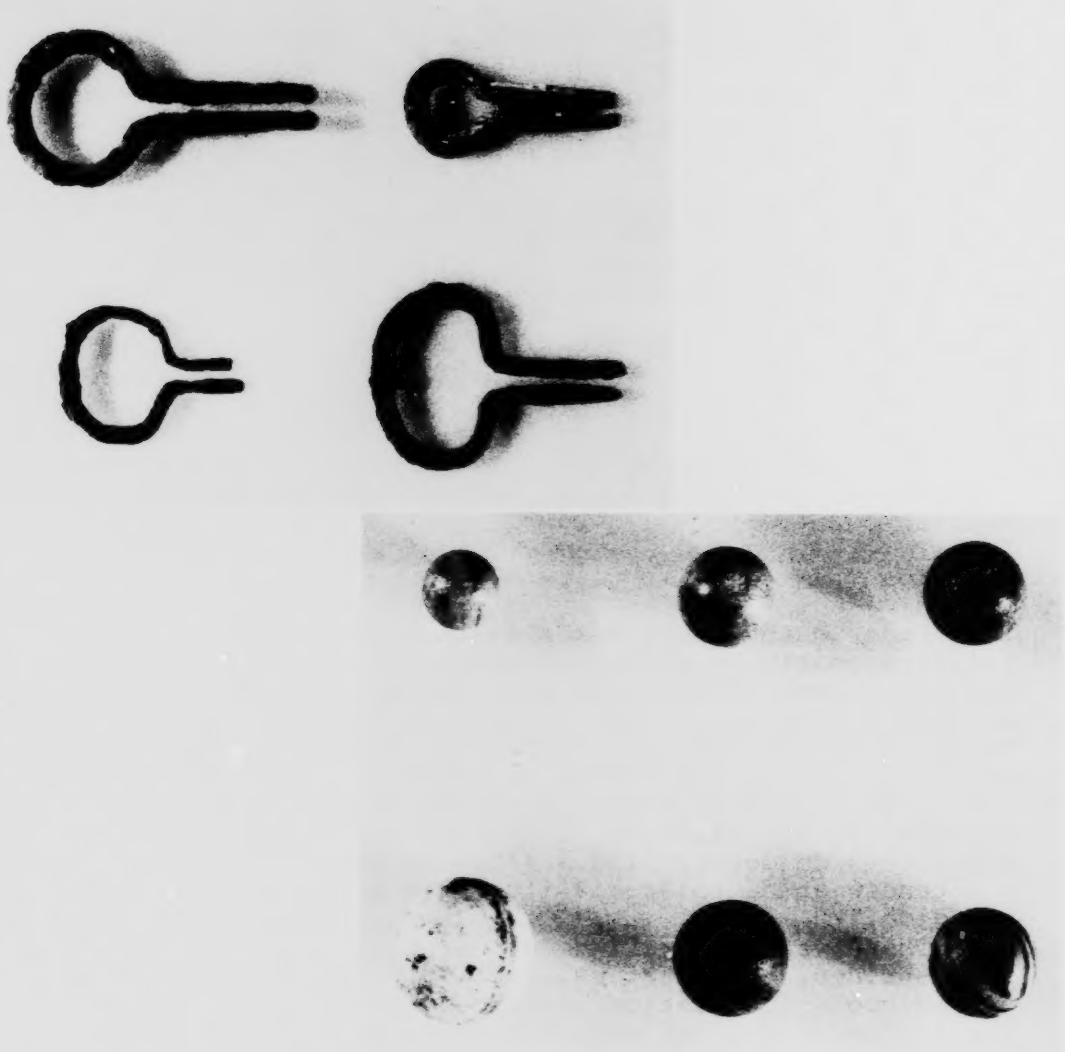


Figure 57. Leisure-time objects: marbles and Jews' harps.

workmen celebrated La Guignolée, sometimes breaking down the fences.[94] Hunting and fishing may also be considered entertainment; as we saw previously, these two pursuits were very popular at Les Forges. But what wlse was there to do?

Very few workmen spent time reading. The documents only mention three inventories with references to books. (John Anderson possessed 28 books; Augustin Gilbert, two and Thomas Cochrane one book and two phamplets). Did they play any musical instruments? Only two jews' harps have been discovered by archaoelogical excavations.

There is little information on the personal tastes of the administrators Zacharie MacAulay, John Pullman and John Munro as to entertainment. One can imagine that many an evening, they read and listened to music. Zacharie MacAulay owned 21 volumes on history, literature, medicine and religion. John Pullman had four books, two on religious themes and also a violin. For John Munro, reading and music certainly played an important role in his life. His library consisted of 69 volumes, mainly history and literature. He had a violin, a flute and a flageolet as well as a lot of musical scores. His inventory also mentions a backgammon set.

Lastly, there was a social activity in which both workers and staff participated. As citizens, they were also members of the militia. However, the service in the militia really only amounted to the annual review in June. This is shown by the company return, dated 29 June 1835,[95] by Captain Henry MacAulay, of the first battalion of Saint-Maurice county.

Religion

Under Mathew Bell's administration, the practice of religion continued without disturbance. Catholics, Anglicans, and Protestants went to Three Rivers to attend religious services. Oral tradition, however, has it that Mathew Bell allowed the Catholic bishop of Three Rivers to send a priest to Les Forges to visit the workmen and say mass. He wanted to ensure the good behaviour of his workmen, in the majority, Catholic: "Ca ma coûte encore moins cher de donner $100 à l'Eveque catholique que de voir, d'entendre et de tolérer à l'ouvrage des ouvriers sans religion."[96]

There were few religious objects in people's houses: some shrines, some statues, some holy-water stoups and some prayer books (the latter, according to the inventories of Lewis, Comeau and the administrators). One can assume that several prints and framed pictures were illustrations of religious subjects.

Lastly, we must mention the religious association to which some workmen belonged - the Catholic temperance organization of the Three Rivers district. One 1 May 1842, the central committee of this association, not foreseeing the possibility to represent Les Forges du Saint-Maurice conferred "pouvoirs de surveillance à Pierre Imbleau et à David Noel."[97] The outcome of this involvement is not known, nor the effects of their goal of temperance on the working population of Les Forges.

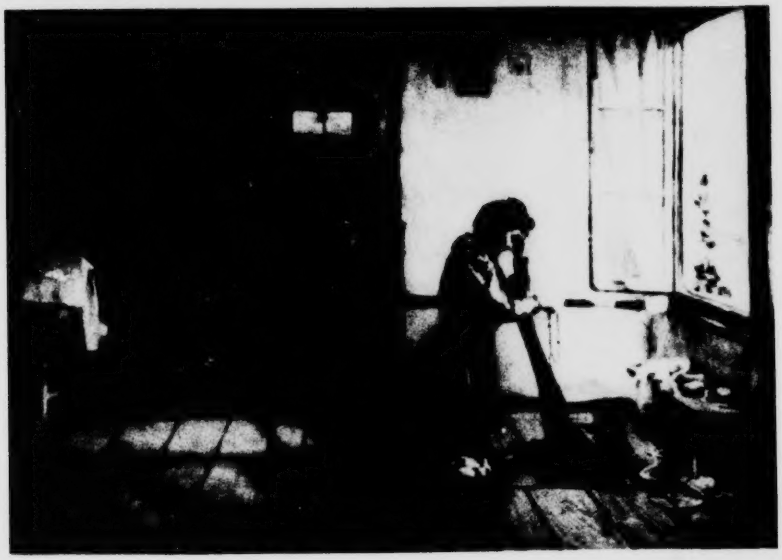


Figure 58. The interior of part of a house at end of 19th century.

Education

We ask ourselves many questions about teaching at Les Forges. Was there a school in this industrial village at the time of Mathew Bell? A document containing information and statistics on the elementary schools in the city and suburbs of Three Rivers does not mention Les Forges in this context. On the other hand, the document provides a short census of Les Forges and the level of illiteracy. On 5 November 1838, the population numbered 393 people of whom "14 savent lire et écrire."[98] The rate of illiteracy was thus very high. Further this document assures us that at the end of the 1830s, there was no school at Les Forges. Further several times between 1830 and 1840, Mathew Bell was president of the "Education Society of the City of Three Rivers."[99] Would he not have promoted the idea of building a school for the village of Les Forges?

Thus during Mathew Bell's administration, there was no school at Les Forges; Dollard Dubé declares he found nothing on this subject before the 1850s.[100] One document does, however, give us details on the Les Forges school starting from the 1860s:

> The school was located in a small house just across to the east, to the right of a large building accommodating five separate families. The headmistresses were, in chronological order: Mlle Descoteaux, Madame de Lottinville, Mlle

> Daveley. Approximately 25 to 30 children attended school, although not for long; as soon as they could read a little and had learned the basics of the catechism, and were old enough to assist their families with physical labour, they were quickly taken out of school ...
> [Translation][101]

Lists of school commissioners for Les Forges for the 1860s have been found. In 1864, Jean-Baptiste Carrier, Zéphirin and Thomas Mailloux, Guillaume Charette and Norbert Landry were the appointed commissioners.[102] In 1866, Robert McDougall, Jean Bouchard and Jean Charette replaced Guillaume Charette, Norbert Landry and Etienne Mailloux.[103]

In spite of the lack of a school at Les Forges in Mathew Bell's time, one may suppose that some workmen sent their children to school in Three Rivers or elsewhere. Thus a protest of John MacAulay against John Slicer, founder at the ironworks, informs us that the latter sent his two sons, William and Henry, to school in Bath, England for their education.[104] John Slicer refused to send a bill of exchange to John Stroughton for the education and lodging of his sons. This was doubtless an exception.

Transportation

Under the French régime, with the exception of the carters, few workmen owned horses or vehicles; in fact, the inventories of property have revealed only a single workman living at Les Forges, the founder, Jean Delorme, who owned a horse and cutter. Three other workers, living outside the village, had, however, horses and vehicles: Joseph Aubry, Julien Duval and Louis Chèvrefils dit Bélisle. Their vehicles, however, consisted of carts and sleighs more suitable for work and farming jobs than for outings.

Nevertheless, the workmen did often travel between Les Forges, Three Rivers and the neighbouring parishes. The deeds from parish registers, the notarial deeds, as well as official correspondence retailing the complaints of administrators about visits to taverns in Three Rivers, testify to the workers' movements. Among friends, one therefore availed himself of free rides with the carters.

Under Bell's administration, the workers were better supplied with means of transportation. Of 25 employees, including three administrators, 15 workers and one clerk owned horses and vehicles. Generally, they owned a horse, a cart, and a sleigh used to cart wood and heavy loads, as well as a caleche and cutter as pleasure vehicles (App. L.). The cutters were often equipped with a fur hide, called a cutter robe, as well as a pillow. The horse, the harness and the vehicles swallowed up large sums of money, varying from 137 to 867 L, according to the estimate of this property in the inventories. In the case of some individuals, these items were worth more than the total value of the goods of the joint estate (Table 15).

In addition to the workmen's horses, the lessees of the ironworks also owned horses used by the carters to transport supplies, firewood, merchandise for the ironworks and the shop as well as for people in *La Grande Maison*. It is obvious that the number of horses and vehicles in Les Forges had increased considerably if one added together the workmen's horses and those of the managers. For the year 1831, a census registered 22 horses belonging to 58 households at Les Forges and 53 horses under Henry MacAulay's control.[105]

In driving these horses and vehicles, these workmen sometimes defied the rules and regulations of Three Rivers. On 10 September 1793, the grand jury of Three Rivers issued a regulation with particular reference to the carters of Les Forges:

> The Grand Jury for this district (Three Rivers) humbly submits to the court that there is an ordinance forbidding vehicles or horses to be driven at more than a moderate speed or gentle trot, despite which there are a number of people, particularly the young carters from Les Forges on Sundays, who drive their vehicles at a gallop and at a brisk trot, thus exposing the elderly and children to the danger of being crippled or of having their limbs broken, for which reason it beseeches the court that the said ordinance be published every three months, to the sole end that the penalties and fines to which violators are liable may be generally known.
>
> Peter Arnold Foreman
> [Translation][106]

Another regulation was also subject to violation by the iron industry workmen. A Three Rivers bylaw stipulated that bells be used on the horse's collar or harness in order to warn pedestrians of the approach of the vehicle. However, the employees of the ironworks paid little heed to this regulation, common as it was in the towns. Thus, the Three Rivers constable issued a formal summons on 23 December 1839, against Pierre Rivard, a day labourer at the ironworks, who contravened the bylaw.[107]

All these small incidents lack interest of themselves but they do reveal the mentality of the time.

MONOGRAPHS OF WORKMEN

As in the first part of this work, we will now look at some homes at the beginning of the 19th century - those of the families of a forgeman, a moulder, a furnace keeper, a quarryman and a *forgeron*.

Nicolas Robichon, Forgeman

History

Birth. Nicolas Robichon was the son of Jean-Nicolas Robichon and Denis Chaput. His father, Jean-Nicolas, was born in Burgundy, where he worked as a forgeman in the Courtinon ironworks in the Côte d'Or. In 1738, he moved to Canada where he was engaged by François Olivier de Vézin as a forgeman at the Saint-Maurice ironworks. It was there he met Denise Chaput and married her on 13 May 1740. There were six children, Nicolas was born in 1752.[1] At the time of the conquest, Jean-Nicolas requested repatriation to France. Burton persuaded him to join the operations of Les Forges.[2] In 1765, he returned to the old country with his family, to Champagne, except for Nicolas who chose to remain in Saint Maurice, and eventually took his father's place at the ironworks.

Marriage. On 29 June 1778, Nicolas, 26 years old, married Claire Boivin, daughter of the late Gille Boivin and Claire Jutras.[4] In 1782, their son Nicolas[5] was born and in 1795, Andre.[6] Claire Boivin died in 1806 at the age of 54 years.[7] Her husband, Nicolas, married a second time, on 17 July 1808, Marie-Thérèse Terreault, elder daughter of Maurice Terreault and of the late Geneviève Gilbert, living in Les Forges du Saint-Maurice.[8] The date of Nicolas' death, and that of his second wife, are unknown. Their names appeared in the censuses and lists of workmen in 1825, 1829 and 1831.[9]

Employment. Under the military government, Nicolas Robichon worked at the ironworks by his father's side as hodman.[10] He finally became a forgeman, under the direction of different lessees of the ironworks. In 1820, according to an agreement between him and his sons, we learn that he has retired, but was still living at Les Forges.

This agreement set up a life annuity of 5 piastres (£1.5) per month to provide him with subsistence, food and maintenance.[11]

Decendants. André and Nicolas Jr. moved quickly to follow in their father's footsteps. They worked at his side and became forgemen. In 1820, it appears that André took his father's place on his retirement, which necessitated paying his father a yearly income amounting to 3 piastres (15s), while Nicolas Jr. only payed 2 piastres (10s).[12] The 1825 census registered André and the five members of his family as well as Nicolas Jr. and the seven members of his family.[13] The list of workmen prepared by Mathew Bell in 1829 gives us further details:

> N. Robichon, son, forgeman, born at the Forges St. Maurice, 47 years old, married, 1 wife, 1 boy, 5 girls.
>
> A. Robichon, forgeman, born at the Forges St. Maurice, 34 years old, married, 1 wife, 4 boys, 1 girl.[14]

In 1831, the name of Nicolas Jr. is mentioned in the census, that of André is absent.[15]

Nicolas Jr. had married on 16 May 1807, Magdeleine Moussette, daughter of Joseph Moussette and Marie-Joseph Chauret.[16] Between 1831 and 1849 Nicolas Jr. settled in Three Rivers. In 1849, he made a *donation* to his son of a piece of land and a house located on St. Phillipe Street.[17] This land had been bought in 1819 and 1820 by Nicolas and André, who had built a two-story house on it, which they rented when they were living at Les Forges.[18] The house on St. Phillipe Street was reserved for the father's use during his lifetime and the son could build his own home on the land. He now lived at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice where he continued the work of his father, his grandfather and his great grandfather. The name of Nicolas Robichon in Mathew Bell's list of 1842[19] refers to him. One can righly speak in this instance of handing down a job from father to son, and right here at the ironworks.

The date of André's marriage is unknown, except that in 1824 he was married and the father of four children, three being less than six years of age and one older than six and less than 14.[20] In 1829 Mathew Bell's list details five children, four boys and one girl.[21]

Way of Life

In 1806, just before the death of Claire Boivin, Nicolas Robichon's family was composed of the following:

Nicolas Robichon, father, 54 years
Claire Boivin, mother, 54 years old
Nicolas, elder son, 24 years
André, younger son, 11 years

Dwelling. The family lived in a house or lodging belonging to Les Forges company. The house comprised, according to the inventory, two rooms: entry hall and second room.[22]

Interior Arrangement. The entry hall constituted the room for eating, drinking and living. The bedroom was used for rest and storage.

In the entry hall, first on the inventory was the stove, separated from the chimney by a pipe made up of eight sections. Nearby were the utensils for preparing and cooking food. Continuing the notary's tour of inspection of the room, we see a chest, some dishes for eating in an armoire, and others in a buffet. A small pine table with drawers and eleven chairs completes the whole. The room was decorated by blue serge curtains on the window.

The second room was a perfect example of the inherited notion of how space should be used. According to this idea, a second room became a place to dump or store things and later was converted into a bedroom. On the one hand, the room was furnished with the three beds of the household. The wall was decorated with two small framed pictures as well as a large mirror and on the window a pair of printed cotton curtains. There was also a table of wild cherry wood with two carafes on top, an armchair and two suitcases for storing clothes. On the other hand, we must visualize in the room all the tubs, pails and containers and even tools which were found there. One must imagine the space occupied by 4 little barrels, 1 small barrel of salt pork, 1 "quarts et de son et du blé," 4 empty small barrels, 2 firkins, 2 casks, 1 pot for drippings, 2 cardboard boxes, 5 boxes made out of bark, 2 baskets, 1 lot of scrap iron and some tools. This room, or a corner of it, was certainly suitable for storing food, because it was cooler than the entry hall which was heated by the stove. But what comfort was there for those who slept in the room? The beds were certainly placed near the partition separating the two rooms.

From the equipment, one can visualize the very distinct functions of these two rooms.

Heating. The house was heated by a two-decker cast-iron stove, equipped with a stove pipe made of eight sheet-metal sections and an ash-box; heating was also provided by the fireplace. These were located in the entry hall, where the principal household activities actually took place.

In 1806, Nicolas Robichon kept a supply of 25 cords of spruce wood for his fires.

Lighting. In this dwelling, the lighting was by candles. One chandelier and two candlesticks provided extra light if required. There were also candlesnuffers and snuffer-holders, accessories needed for this type of lighting.

Furniture. The furniture of the house was simple, as we have seen in the furnishings.

The parent's bed was not described, as it was reserved for the surviving spouse according to a clause in the marriage contract. However it may well have been a canopy bed since the family had in reserve a canopy (bed linen). In contrast, the children's beds were described, even if listed *pour mémoire*. They consisted of a bedstead, a straw mattress, a feather bed, a bolster and two pillows. The spare bed-linen included a pair of sheets, a blanket and a serge quilt.

Two tables, 11 chairs, an armchair, an armoire, a buffet, a chest and two suitcases satisfied the family's needs in a rudimentary way.

Utensils. Food was prepared on the only table in the entry hall. The utensils used for this purpose included a mortar and pestle for grinding food, a strainer, a watering can, a funnel, a rolling pin and 11 terrines, used for milk products as well as other dishes.

The range of utensils for cooking food was very limited: a frying pan, a small cooking pot, a *culplat*, a tinplate cauldron as well as a cast-iron braising pan. Cooking was done in the oven of the two-decker stove and possibly on the hearth. The latter only served as an alternative, because it was not equipped with the necessary utensils, such as the gridiron and roasting spit. Furthermore, from the smaller sizes (small cooking pots) and from the lightness of the materials (tinplate) it is obvious that the adaptation to cooking on the stove was taking place. Among the iron utensils were a hook, two shovels, and a trivet. Was the hook used to remove the embers and put in the logs or did it serve as a pot-hook? The shovel was used as much for the stove as for the hearth. Where were the pincers, tongs, bellows which generally were part of the tools of the fireplace? One may conclude that the hearth was used only as an auxiliary source of heat and food was mostly cooked on or in the stove. To heat liquids a tea kettle and two coffee pots were used.

For meals, large and small ceramic plates, faience bowls, knives, forks and spoons were laid on the tablecloth on the table. The armoire and the buffet contained several of each: nine big plates, seven small, five bowls, four of which were faience, two cutlery boxes containing 15 knives, forks and spoons, six horn-handled knives and seven horn-handled forks, six small spoons and a pair of fine pewter sugar tongs. To serve the food, there was a dish, a sauceboat, four small jars and two saltcellars. For drinking, they possessed three small glasses and three large tumblers as well as four cups and saucers. Tea and coffee were prepared in the two teapots and the two coffee pots. Also used were sugar bowls, milk jug and tray.

Stores of provisions were not numerous but varied; in the entry hall were two chests containing a little salt and a punnet of rice. In the second room as already indicated, salt pork, bran and wheat, lard as well as two pounds of local sugar were stored.

For storing food there were numerous receptacles in different shapes and of different materials, according to the use to which they were put.

There were the wooden pails, used for carrying and keeping water; the stoneware pot for lard, the earthenware pots, the oil containers, two flagons and six bottles for beverages and other liquids; the punnets for dry food and fruit; the terrines and the tubs for milk and butter; finally barrels and small barrels for salt pork, bran and wheat.

Instruments and tools. For the care of the linen two steam irons and two brushes were available. Tools included a pickaxe for gardening, an axe for firewood as well as a wedge for splitting wood, a pair of tongs and a hammer.

Dress. The men's and children's clothes, considered personal property, have not been inventoried. The dead wife's clothes have, however, been inventoried, which provides information on Claire Boivin's wardrobe.

Clothes for everyday:	3 underskirts
	1 skirt of calico
	1 tippet and 1 skirt of heavy material
	1 nightdress
	1 brown shawl
Best clothes:	1 tippet
	1 silk petticoat
	1 veil
	2 black calemande petticoats
	2 muslin shawls
Underwear:	2 corsets
Headwear:	6 nightcaps
	4 headdresses
	1 hood
	1 old-fashioned hat
Stockings and footwear:	3 pairs of stockings
	2 pairs of cotton stockings
	6 pairs of wool stockings
	2 pairs of thin socks
	2 pairs of shoes
Other clothes:	3 muslin handkerchiefs
	2 pairs of pockets

Clothes for outdoors:
4 tippets
2 (fur-lined) cloaks
1 muff
1 pair of gloves

Vehicles. The Robichon family was well equipped with vehicles. For summer, they went out in the caleche "all fixed up with pillows and cushions" [Translation]; in winter they used a cutter with a pillow and two cutter robes. The vehicle was harnessed to the old horse, 15 years old, more or less. Saddle, bridle, double or single harness, collar and bells were part of his gear.

Work of the housewife. This entire range of utensils and instruments certainly gives us considerable information as to some of the housewife's tasks, such as, the preparation of food and meals, and upkeep of furniture and house. The care of the bed linen such as sheets, pillow slips and blankets, table linen such as tablecloths, bath linen such as towels and lastly, clothes, certainly occupied part of her time.

There was also the care of the animals, the family was raising two little pigs, 18 hens and chicks as well as two cows. This work required daily attention throughout the year. Associated with this was milking and in autumn, slaughtering the pig. In summer, gardening and picking wild fruit added to her tasks.

Finally, there was dressmaking. Among the household linens were 14½ ells of locally made material and a remnant of blue serge.

Work of the man. Besides his work as a forgeman from sunrise to sunset, Nicolas Robichon turned his attention to domestic tasks in his free time. There were the daily chores of seeing to the wood supply, taking care of the animals, particularly the horse as well as the vehicles. Occasionally, he went hunting - at least he owned a gun and a hunting knife. He also helped butcher the pig.

Way of Life

The father earned that year £11.7.7 per month. The family did not own much property although Nicolas Robichon had purchased land and a house in Cap-de-la-Madeleine in 1786.[23] He however, sold them in 1791.[24] The contents of the house were valued at £59.12.6(1431L), £14.14.4 for the furniture (the two-decker stove being an expensive item) and £11.5 for the animals. Animal raising, farming, fruit-picking, hunting as well as the making of clothes added to the domestic economy and assured a certain qualtiy of life and comfort to the household.

Joseph Moussette, Moulder

History

Birth. Joseph Moussette was the son of Joseph Moussette and Josephte Choret. He spent his youth at Les Forges where his father worked.[25] Joseph Moussette was the brother of Magdeleine who married, 16 May 1807, Nicolas Robichon Jr., forgeman at Les Forges.[26] Joseph Moussette worked at Les Forges as a moulder from 1779 to 1809).

Marriage. January 6, 1800, Joseph Moussette married Marie Bolman, daughter of Henry Bolman and Catherine Delhurel-dit-Flamand.[27] Three children were born to this couple: Marie-Louise, Séraphine and Emilie. In 1807 Marie Bolman died.[28] Joseph Moussette survived her by only a short time, he died in March 1809.[29]

Descendants. At the time their father died, the children were minors and were placed in the care of their guardian, their uncle, Nicolas Robichon, Jr. Marie-Louise, the eldest girl married André Cook, blacksmith from Three Rivers, who also worked at the ironworks.[30] Emilie married Edouard Godin, on September 9th, 1832.[31]

Way of life

In 1807, just before the death of Marie Bolman, the family was composed of:

Joseph Moussette, father
Marie Bolman, mother
Marie-Louise
Séraphine
Emilie

The eldest, Marie-Louise, was no more than six, since her parents were married in January, 1800.

Dwelling. The young family lived in a lodging or a house belonging to the ironworks company. Is it likely that he lived in the moulders' house, mentioned in the company inventory of 1807? He would have had as a neighbour the family of a workman in the same job.

Nonetheless this dwelling very likely contained more than one room. For, besides the fireplace, two stoves provided alternative heating for the house.[32] Of these two stoves, one may well have been located near the fireplace, the other in the room adjacent to it. The quantity of furniture makes one think two rooms were used. According to the inventory, we find two tables surrounded, one by seven straw-bottomed chairs and the other by five green wooden chairs and two armchairs, two fully equipped beds and two armoires. There was also a cradle and a little bureau. The walls of the rooms were decorated with mirrors, one large, one small, as well as nine framed pictures and some prints.

Lighting. In this house, lighting was by candle, provided by one of the two chandeliers in the home. They also possessed a pair of candlesnuffers for snuffing the candles.

Utensils. On the fireplace hung the pot-hanger, evidence of numerous meals cooked on the hearth. Near to it, were not only the tongs and the shovel, but also the cooking utensils - two cauldrons, a cooking pot, an iron dish and a frying pan. For heating small and large quantities of water, a pan and two large kettles of tinplate took their place alongside the other utensils.

For eating, they had three dishes, three plates, one bowl, nine forks and nine knives, three large and four small pewter spoons. For serving food, they used a cruet, a sauce-boat, three salt shakers. The drinking utensils consisted of four glasses, five cups, and seven saucers. The tea service was composed of a tray, a teapot, a tea caddy and sugar tongs. For preparing and keeping food, the utensils were not numerous: nine terrines, ten bottles and only two stoneware pots.

Although they bought most of their provisions at the company shop, the young couple were raising a little pig and a cow. The 1809 inventory mentions some small reserves of salt, salt pork, lard and tallow.[33]

Instruments and tools. The few tools and instruments mentioned in the inventory included two irons for the care of linen; for gardening and chopping wood, a pickaxe and two axes; for hunting a gun.

Costume. Articles of clothing are mentioned only in the second inventory of the joint estate, which was drawn up after the death of the father in 1809. These include as many women's as men's clothes, evidence that they had kept the mother's clothes for the children.

One part of the mother's wardrobe included two dresses, a tippet and an undershirt, seven chemises, a pair of gloves and a black veil. That of Joseph Moussette was more complete. It consisted of four suits, one of which was a short black suit, six pairs of breeches, five jackets, seven shirts, three of cotton and four of fine cloth, one silk tie, one pair of stockings and one pair of thick stockings and a pair of ankle boots; for the cold weather, two frock-coats, one belt, a cap and a hat. One piece of jewellery was recorded: a gold wedding ring. Note finally the mention of cloth for a women's overcoat, proof of home dressmaking.

Vehicles. The young family was well provided with transport vehicles. These, as well as the horse, were very valuable representing a quarter of the value of the household articles. For bringing in the wood supply for heating and for other heavy loads, they used the cart or sleigh and for going to town or church the caleche or the cutter, depending on the season.

Livelihood

Joseph Moussette worked at the ironworks as a moulder. He was one of the skilled workmen, and on that account, earned a salary of about 1900L a year. This was deduced from the amount owed by Munro and Bell of 37L 7s for a week's work in 1809.

The living standard of the young couple, in the light of our data, was average. While no great luxury was evident, the equipment of the home did provide for all the household's comforts.

François Pellerin, Furnace Keeper

History

Marriage and descendants. Little is known of the life of François Pellerin, except that he was married to Emable Isabelle, with whom he had three children: Marie, Betsey and Hermine. When Emable Isabelle died in 1845, Marie had already left home and married Urbin Bouchard. Only the two underaged daughters, Betsey and Hermine,[35] were still at home. The marriage therefore would date back to the 1810s.

Employment. François Pellerin worked at the ironworks as a furnace keeper. He worked with the founder and replaced him in his absence.

Way of life

In 1845, the family, before Emable Isabelle's death, was composed of:

François Pellerin, father
Emable Isabelle, mother
Betsey
Hermine

Dwelling. The Pellerin family lived in a company house in Les Forges du Saint-Maurice. They had a dairy, a room adjoining the house or a small building, as well as a cow-shed.

The number of rooms in the dwelling is not known, but we may suppose a minimum of two rooms, heated by a hearth and a stove. The worker, himself, did not own the stove. Was it provided by the company or was it rented? Pellerin only had a stove pipe of five steel sections!

The walls of the house were decorated by six little framed pictures, a picture of flowers and two mirrors. The windows were fitted with blinds of cotton and muslin. In this house, the lighting at night, was provided by two copper chandeliers, or for outdoors, by a lantern of tinplate.

Furniture. The furniture of the house suggests comfort and ease. There were two fully equipped beds, one in dark wood, lathe-turned, and another ordinary bed and a cradle. For storage, there was a chest of drawers, made of wild red cherry wood. For meals and other work, there was a square table of wild cherry wood surrounded by six brown chairs; there were also nine straw-bottomed chairs. The family owned, and this was unusual, a copper clock set in a wooden case. In the cow-shed, a vestige of former days, there was a small table, an armoire and a discarded sofa, if one can judge from its insignificant value.

Utensils. The range of utensils for preparing and cooking food was very restricted: two soup cauldrons, two iron dishes, two tinplate dishes, a tea kettle of cast iron and a tinplate coffee pot as well as six terrines and a ladle.

The tableware was much more impressive by reason of its numerous items: 20 large plates, of which 14 were blue and six white, nine small blue plates, four concave blue and white dishes. Eight forks, seven knives and 12 spoons completed the place settings. For drinking, a whole array of vessels was available, four tumblers and six footed tumblers, six cups and six saucers with a flower motif, nine white bowls for tea and liquids, two carafes and four water jugs with flower motifs.

There were also utensils in the dairy which was used for converting the milk products as well as for preserving food, because it was a cool place. In the dairy on the day of the inventory, there were two dishes said to be of faience, two terrines and, for preserving food, a stoneware dish containing lard and about three pounds of butter, a salting-tub with 50 pounds of salt pork as well as a small barrel filled with flour.

Instruments and tools. Instruments and tools were of course, not objects which occupied much space in the house, because we find only two irons for the care of clothes and linen, and one axe.

Linen. As for bed linen, each of the two beds consisted of a straw mattress, a feather bed, a sheet, one or two blankets, a bedspread and for one of the beds, two pillows. The small cradle had its own straw mattress, sheets and blankets as well as, when needed, two small quilts. For a change of linen there were five cotton sheets, four pillowcases and one bedspread. For the table, there were four linen tablecloths.

Clothing. The clothing of the deceased had not been inventoried, nor were those of the survivor. However, one listed a watch in a silver case along with its chain, an item of considerable value, appraised at 30L. Listed also in the inventory was a pair of snowshoes.

Animals. For food, the family had raised two pigs and two cows. These animals were kept in a shed alotted to them.

Livehihood

François Pellerin, a skilled worker, worked at the ironworks as a furnace keeper. The standard of living of this workman's family was that of the middle class; his household goods consisted principally of furniture and assured comfort for his family.

Maurice Sawyer, Quarryman

History

Marriage. Maurice Sawyer, quarryman at the Saint-Maurice ironworks, married Marquerite Mailloux. They had a son who was named after his father. When he was only 20 months old his mother died.[36] Following this, Maurice Sawyer entered into a second marriage with Judith Boisvert.[37]

Employment. Maurice Sawyer worked as a quarryman at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice. His presence at the ironworks was noted in 1860, the year that Maurice relinquished his inheritance from his mother's estate to his father.[38]

Way of Life

The family before the death of Marquerite Mailloux, was composed of:

Maurice Sawyer, father
Marguerite Mailloux, mother
Maurice, 20 months old

Dwelling. The Maurice Sawyer family lived in Les Forges du Saint-Maurice in a company house. The household, to judge from the modest furniture it possessed, possibly occupied a house or a small-sized lodging. It must be borne in mind that we are dealing with a young couple.

Furniture, utensils and tools. The furniture was reduced to the simplest: a small bed for the couple, a buffet, two chests, a suitcase, a table, a bench and six chairs.

The range of utensils was limited to the basics; for cooking food, two cauldrons, a frying pan, and for storing water, a tin kettle. The tableware consisted of a stemware glass and a lot of faience, valued at 3L, doubtless consisting of plates, a dish and a cup. For milk dishes and preparation of food, there were six terrines and for preserving or storing food, nine bottles. In the house there were no less than six axes and a lot of scrap iron.

Linen. The only linen found in the household consisted of two sets of bed linen. The first included a straw mattress, a feather bed, a bolster, a pillow, a blanket and a calico counterpane. The bed linen was certainly reserved for the young couple's bed. The second set comprised a straw mattress, a bolster, a sheet and two blankets.

Dress. In the inventory there is a description of women's garments which itemizes Marguerite Mailloux's wardrobe. This included a cotton petticoat, a white cambric dress and another of printed cotton, an apron, a corset and a pair of shoes; for outings, a shawl and two tippets.

Animals and vehicles. If the young couple could only afford very modest furniture, it was less parsimonious with vehicles and animals. They owned a cow and a horse. There was also a small cart as well as parts of a caleche, such as its iron fittings, a pair of wheels, an old caleche seat, a carriage shaft and a "paire de boîtes." The caleche parts do, perhaps, indicate that Maurice Sawyer was building or intending to build his own caleche. Nevertheless, all these parts were worth not less than 135 L.

Jacques Tassé, *Forgeron*

History

Marriage and descendants. Jacques Tassé married Marguerite Charrette. From this union, eight children were born: Jacques, Joseph, Marguerite, Louis, Augustin, Edouard, Julia and Marie. In 1811, Marguerite Charrette died.[39]

Employment. Jacques Tassé worked in the Saint-Maurice ironworks as a *forgeron*. In french, this title refers to either a forgeman or a blacksmith. It indicates that he may have been a forgeman, i.e. a hammersmith or a stoker working at the upper or the lower forge, or he may have been working as a blacksmith-farrier in a shop at Les Forges itself. We have no further information to confirm at which one of the jobs he worked.

Way of life

In 1811, before the death of Marguerite Charrette, the family was composed of:

Jacques Tassé, father
Marguerite Charrette, mother
Children of age: Marguerite
Jacques Jr.
Joseph
Children under age: Lewis
Augustin
Edouard
Julie
Marie

At this time, Marguerite was married to Joseph Michelin, a workman at the ironworks and had probably left home. Jacques and Joseph were probably still living in the paternal home.

Dwelling. The Tassé family lived at Les Forges du Saint-Maurice in a company house. We have no idea about details of the house. The description of the household goods comes to us through the sale of goods from the joint estate of Jacques Tassé and his wife and not from a post-mortem inventory. We do know, however, that the dwelling was heated by the fire from the hearth and that of the stove.

Furniture. The family possessed a large amount of furniture. This should not be surprising because seven or nine people were using it daily. For all these people, there were but four beds. An armoire, two buffets, a chest, a bureau, and if need be a suitcase, were pressed into service for storing clothes as well as linen, tableware and even food. Three tables (together with six chairs and one armchair), were used for meals and other activities. An unusual feature in the post-mortem inventories of workmen at the ironworks in the 19th century is the mention of a dough box.

Utensils. Near the fireplace and the stove were some utensils for the fire: three shovels, a pair of tongs and a hook. Utensils for preparing and cooking food were not numerous: a frying pan, a tea kettle, a coffee pot, a teapot, a ladle and some terrines (milk pans). We must conclude that the sale of furniture is not representative of all the actual goods of the joint estate, for how could one have cooked for this entire family with these few utensils? As far as eating was concerned, plates, bowls, dishes, pots, spoons are only referred to by lots. As to food itself, there were some stocks of beef (three quarters) and of potatoes.

Instruments and tools. For the care of clothes and linen, there was a wash tub and two irons in the house. In considering the tools, one notices the link between these and the workman's job - there were axes, augers as well as some lots of scrap iron.

Linen. The linen of the house occupied little room in the cupboard and sideboard. Apart from the bed linen, the spare linen was limited to two sheets, three pillow slips and a counterpane. Moreover, table linen was little used, as only one tablecloth is mentioned.

Dress. There is a reference to some clothes giving us some idea about part of Marguerite Charrette's wardrobe. It included not less than 11 blouses, three underskirts, one dressing gown, two coifs and one handkerchief. For outdoors, there were 11 tippets, one mantle, a cap, a pair of gloves, and as protection against the bad weather, an umbrella.

Vehicles. For outings, the Tassé family owned several vehicles: a caleche, a cutter and two carts. The horse is not mentioned but the accessories are: two sets of harness, two collars and iron traces. Finally, for the passengers' comfort during winter, there were two cutter robes.

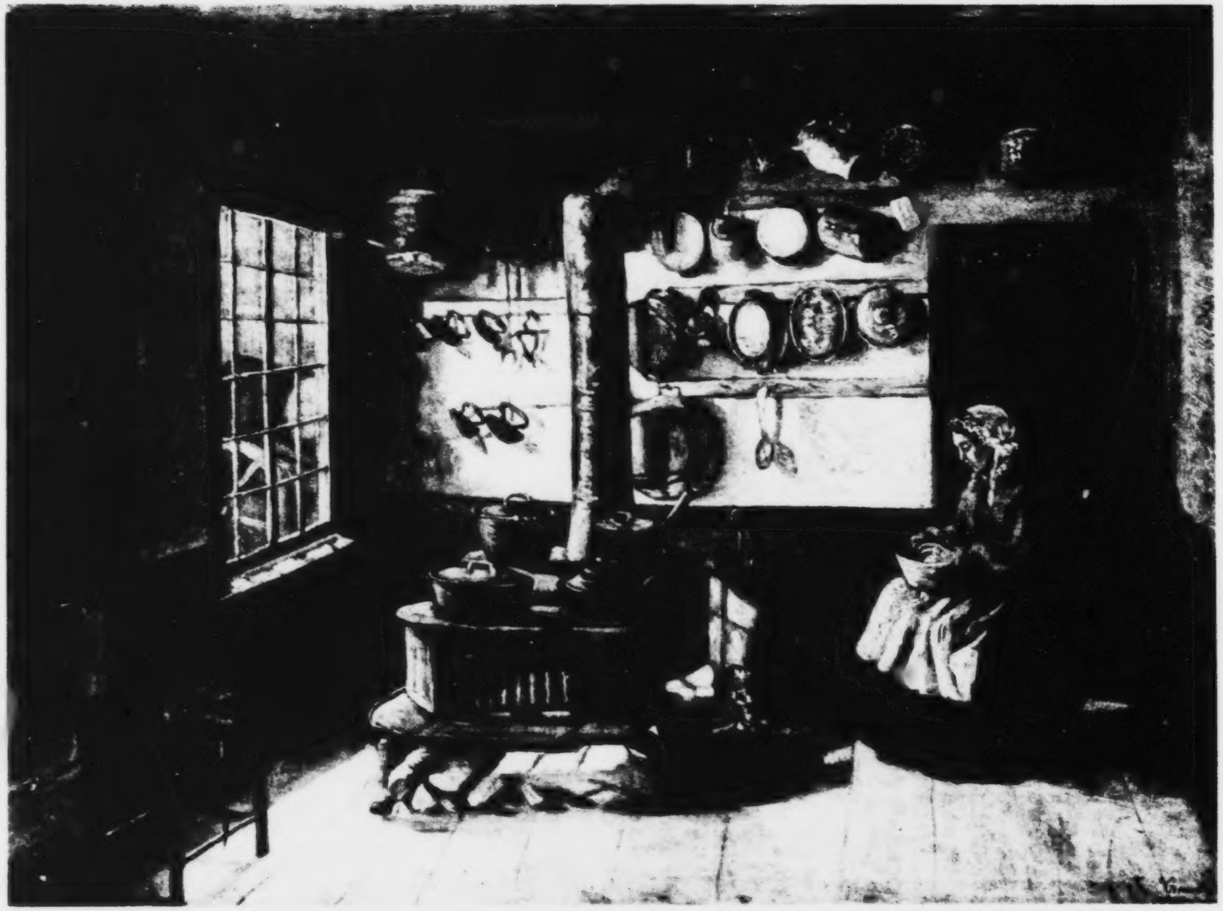


Figure 59. Interior of a Canadian kitchen. This type of cooking stove may have been found in an anglophone household in Les Forges. Hanging utensils and irons on the wall was not very common.

CONCLUSION

Within the limits of this study on the domestic life of the inhabitants of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, one cannot but ask oneself what this industrial village was really like in comparison with any other village or town. What were the similarities, what were the differences? During the hundred years of the life of this village we have been studying, what evolution occurred in the life-style of the inhabitants?

We cannot enumerate here all the similarities and differences between Les Forges residents and their contemporaries in a village or town, but it is possible to indicate some. Les Forges consisted of an agglomeration of industrial and domestic buildings which intersected at one focal point, the blast-furnace, and ran along an axis, a road to the charcoal stacks. In the same way, in a village, a number of houses and buildings were arranged around a focus, the church, and along an axis, a row. The notables of Les Forges were the masters, owners or lessees, the superintendent and the clerks, while in a village or town, these were the priest, the professional people and the administrators. And what is more, the employer, like the priest, kept an eye on his flock. What differed markedly between the industrial centre and the village or town was the existence of a single prestigious building, *La Grande Maison*. There and there only were grouped the master's residence, the office, the shop and indeed, even at certain periods, the chapel. In synthesized everything which imposing residences, government, commercial and religious buildings might represent. One can imagine the feverish activity which took place there and all the comings and goings. However, few owners or lessees lived there permanently. *La Grande Maison* accommodated primarily superintendents, the clerks and, of course, the servants.

Several features were common to Les Forges inhabitants and distinguished them from their confrères in other villages and towns. Most of the workmen were colleagues, because all worked in some way or other for the iron industry. Are we saying everyone worked? In fact, few or no retired people were encountered and few or no widows, who did not have one son working. But was this a closed village? Not to any great extent, if the entire period of the 150 years of Les Forges' existence is considered, for the worker often travelled to Three Rivers to see the priest, the doctor, the notary, sometimes the shopkeeper and frequently the inn- and tavern-keeper.

As to domestic life, there was at Les Forges a correlation between the employee's social status and the type of house he occupied. Further, the furniture and equipment of the house, need it be said, were in direct relation to his financial situation. In this, there is scarcely any difference between him and his confrères in villages or towns. Moreover, at equivalent income levels between people in the same trade in Les Forges and elsewhere, the way of life was similar; we find only some unusual features. For instance, a workman in Les Forges would never occupy a house of more than two or three rooms, whereas he would have been able to afford a larger house if he had worked in a town or village - and if he had had the means to do so. That need have been no obstacle, if he were a skilled worker, he would buy real estate and acquire a house which he would eventually occupy; and if he were an artisan, he would also have a workshop in Three Rivers. Another peculiarity which is not without interest: in the interiors of Les Forges houses, we found many utensils of cast-iron, those which elsewhere were generally made of copper - not astonishing in this milieu.

On the other hand, the worker, artisan and day labourer, whether at the ironworks, in a village or town, depended on outside sources to provide their requirements of food. Their wives did not join in the work, as happened in an agricultural environment. It is not surprising, then, that in the absence of flax- or hemp-growing and sheep-raising, no artisanal equipment to convert these products was found (except at the very end of the company's operation, 1850-83). Lastly, the inhabitants of Les Forges or the country, far from the major centres like Quebec City and Montreal, were all attired in the same traditional manner.

Our study on domestic life at Les Forges has also emphasized one important fact; the beginning of the 19th century brought an evolution in the life-style of its inhabitants. Contrast the furnishing style of the French régime with that of the first quarter of the 19th century. During this latter period, the most striking conclusion is unquestionably the variety and amount of furniture and articles found in the home. These changes involved certain consequences. It is noticeable that, at the turn of the 19th century, the poor were less poor than under the French régime. The changes also betokened a new spirit, even if the change was cautious at Les Forges in relation to the big cities of Lower Canada. This new state of mind manifested itself in a much greater pursuit of comfort, beyond merely satisfying rudimentary needs, the objective 50 years earlier.

In the first quarter of the 19th century, people used a much greater quality, variety and novelty of furniture. One may also surmise that greater attention was devoted to the interior of the home. More furniture for storage purposes enabled one to keep the rooms tidier. Further, the documents mention more items providing ornamentation such as the framed pictures, prints, bird cages and clocks incorporated in the decoration. Innovations affected tableware also. The tablecloth seems to have been abandoned, but on the other hand the receptacles were more numerous, the use of the table knife widespread, while the use of the individual glass gained ground increasingly. The housewife's chores were somewhat lightened by the use of the stove for cooking food. It was a period of transition, she profited from both alternatives, cooking on the hearth and the stove, increasingly favouring the latter. The evolution was even manifested in the means of transportation: workmen owning a horse and vehicle became more and more common.

That, in brief, is what our documentation has disclosed. We have, we believe scrutinised minutely every item of information it provided. In spite of the limits imposed by the documentation, and such documentation does always impose limits, it has enabled us to become acquainted with some of the interiors of Les Forges' residents as well as with some of the household activities, particularly how people lived, ate, slept, worked and amused themselves.

Our study has, on the other hand, raised several questions. The first relates to the social and demographic history of Les Forges. We would have liked to know the number of people composing a family; the number living in the household (underage, old people, orphans, employees and apprentices); the age at which people started work, and got married; the infant mortality rates; the average length of marriage and the frequency of second marriages - in summary, about any question having a bearing on domestic life. Some equally important questions arise with respect to archaeological researches. Thus the analysis of artifacts discovered during excavations could corroborate or modify our statements. We would earnestly like one day to integrate into this historical study the results of the archaeological excavations and those from the analysis of the artifacts. We hope additional data may come to fill the gaps.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. Chronological Table of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, 1729 - 1883[1]

Dates of operation	Administrators
1729-41	Period of private companies subsidized by the king
1729-35	F. Poulin de Francheville Francheville and Company Associates: F.-E. Cugnet I. Gamelin P. Poulin L.F. Bricault de Valmur
1735-41	F.-E. Cugnet and Company Associates: I. Gamelin F. Olivier de Vézin J. Simonnet T.J. Taschereau
1741	Period of royal administration
1741-60	State Administration Directors: G. Estèbe (1741-42) J.-V. Martel de Belleville (1742-49) A. Hertel de Rouville (1749-60)
1760-67	State Administration Directors: A. Hertel de Rouville (1760) F. Poulin de Courval (1760-65)

1767-1846	Period of lessees C. Pélissier and Associates Associates: A. Dumas T. Dunn B. Price D. St. Martin G. Allsopp J. Johnston B. Watson
1778-83	A. Dumas
1783-97	C. Gugy
1787-93	A. Davison, J. Lees
1793-1800	M. Bell, D. Munro, G. Davison
1800-16	M. Bell, D. Munro
1816-46	M. Bell
1846-83	Period of owners
1846-51	H. Stuart, J. Ferrier
1851-61	A. Stuart, J. Porter
1862-63	O. Héroux
1863-67	J. McDougall
1867-76	J. McDougall & Sons
1876-80	G. & A. McDougall
1800-83	G. McDougall

APPENDIX B. Population of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice

Year	Number of people at Les Forges	Number of families at Les Forges	Number of employers at Les Forges
1737			100
1750	400		
1752	120	11	
1762	72		
1784	249		
1804			45
1808			300
1825	221	55	
1829	415		
1831	335	58	
1842	425		
1851	397		350
1858			120
1861		33	
1871	300		
	231	44	

APPENDIX C. Port-Mortem Inventories

Name	Trade	Year of inventory	Resident at time of inventory
1730-59			
Aubry, Jean	Collier	1745	Les Forges
Aubry, Joseph	Collier	1750	Baie St-Antoine
Bouvet, Pierre	Blacksmith/farrier	1755	Three Rivers
Champagne, Nicolas	Foreman	1749	Les Forges
Chèvrefils called Bélisle, Louis	Carpenter	1765	Baie St-Antoine
Delorme, Jean	Founder	1755	Les Forges
DeNevers called Boisvert, François	Day labourer	1756	Les Forges
Duval, Julien	Day labourer	1750	Pointe-du-Lac
Godard, François	Forgeman	1756	Les Forges
Marchand, Pierre	Forgeman	1752	Les Forges
Perrin, François	Day labourer	1751	Les Forges
1760-92			
Desèves, Charles	Blacksmith	1769	Les Forges
Gugy, Conrad	Director	1785	Les Forges Yamachiche
Voligny, Louis	Foreman	1792	Les Forges
1793-1845			
Anderson, John	Moulder	1794	Les Forges
Cochrane, Thomas	Blacksmith	1834	Les Forges
Comeau, Firmin	Founder	1821	Three Rivers
Comeau-Chailloux, Jos.	Carpenter	1825-38	Pointe-du-Lac
Gilbert, Augustin	Day labourer	1804	Les Forges
Gilbert, Jean-Baptiste	Blacksmith	1799	Les Forges
Houle, Joseph	Day labourer	1808	Batiscan
Imbleau, Claude	Moulder	1845	Les Forges
Kenyon, William	Moulder	1809	Three Rivers
Lacommande, Charles	Baker	1810	Les Forges
Lamothe, Luc	Forgeman	1810	Les Forges
Lewis, J. Samuel	Moulder	1820	Les Forges
MacAulay, Zacharie	Superintendent	1821	Les Forges
Munro, John	Clerk	1820	Three Rivers
Moussette, Joseph	Moulder	1807-9	Les Forges
Pellerin, François	Furnace keeper	1845	Les Forges
Pullman, John	Clerk	1804	Three Rivers

Raymond, Joseph	Carter	1825	Les Forges
Rivard, Julien	Day labourer	1830	Les Forges
Robichon, Pierre N.	Forgeman	1807	Les Forges
Sawyer, Maurice	Quarryman	1816	Les Forges
Tassé, Jacques	Forgeman	1811	Les Forges
Terreau, Jean	Moulder	1830	Les Forges
1846-83			
Cook, André	Blacksmith	1853	Three Rivers
Michelin, Joseph	Forest Ranger	1851	Les Forges

APPENDIX D. Goods in Les Forges shop, 1741, 1746 and 1748[1]

Inventory of 1741[1]	Price according to statement of 1748[2]
Tissus:	
29 aunes 3/4 de satin sur fil petite raye roze vert et blanc	Satin rayé: prix moyen, 5L 10s l'aune. Les satins sur fil sont moitié moins cher.
1 aune 2/3 idem (satin sur fil)	
5 aunes 1/3 idem jonquille et blanc rayé	
23 aunes 3/4 idem canelle et blanc	
26 aunes à grande raye roze et vert	
18 aunes 2/3 à fleurs roze vert et blanc	
153 aunes 3/4 de petit crepon en sept couppons	
18 aunes 1/2 idem, en deux couppons	
3 aunes 2/3 d'étamine d'Amiens	Crêpon d'Alençon ou étaimines jaspées d'Amiens: 18s à 21s l'aune.
26 aunes d'étamine jaspée en deux pièces	
14 aunes 1/13 d'étamine rayée en 2 couppons	
8 aunes 3/6 de camelot raye en trois couppons	
22 aunes 1/12 de camelot en 1/2 aune uny en 6 couppons	Camelot d'Amiens unis et rayés en 1/2 aune et autres camelots unis en 1/2 aune communs: 15s à 24s l'aune.
25 aunes 1/12 de camelot rayé en 3 couppons	
3/4 (aune) de camelot escarlatte	
54 aunes 3/4 de ras de maroc en 3 couppons	
40 aunes 2/3 de Dauphine en 3 couppons	Dauphine de Rennes: 25s à 30s l'aune.
4 aunes 3/4 de mignonnette noire	
7 aunes idem (mignonnette) à fleurs grize	

5 aunes de calemeande noire en demy aune	Calemandes de toutes espèces, en basse couleurs: 26s l'aune; en haute couleur, 30s l'aune.
1 aune 1/3 idem (calemande) rayé	
60 aunes 3/4 de gaze mouchetée	
12 aunes idem (gaze) rayée	Gaze: 20s à 30s l'aune.
1 aune 1/2 idem à fleurs	
7 aunes 1/4 de taffetas double florence gris	Taffetas de Florence: 3L 5s à 3L 8s l'aune.
3 aunes 2/3 idem (taffetas) noire ordinaire	
1 aune idem (taffetas)	

Articles de mercerie:

1 marc de traisse d'argent faux	
1 pièce de ruban de lyon	Les rubans se vendent à la douzaine d'aune, la pièce est de deux douzaines. Prix variés.
37 aunes de ruban idem (de lyon)	
10 pièces de padou de fleuret étroit	
29 pièces de padou de fil idem (étroit)	
18 aunes 1/3 de ruban vert	
6 aunes idem de ruban) blanc étroit	
11 aunes idem (de ruban) jonquille	
4 aunes idem (de ruban) bleu	
7 aunes idem (de ruban) jonquille	
26 aunes idem (de ruban)	
18 paires de grenades sur fil pour culotte	
1 morceau de gallon d'argent à la Mousquetaire pour bord de chapeau de 5/6 aune de long	
12 pièces de gallon de l'aumone blanc	Galons de fil blanc à aumône ou à bandes: 18 à 20L la douzaine.
1 pièce idem rayé	
1 pièce 1/2 idem étroit	
3 aunes 3/4 de quintin en 4 couppons	
1 pièce de tavel de Rouen	Tavel: 18s à 20s la pièce.
1 douzaine gallon d'Hollande	
16 pièces idem (galon)	
15 pièces idem (galon)	

bolduc de 18 fils	
11 garnitures de bouttons de poil de chevre communs pour habit et veste	
14 Garnitures de bouttons pour habit seulement	
14 Garnitures idem (bouton) en olives	
3 grosses 4 douzaines de petits boutons blancs	
3 paires de boutons de manche à pierre de cuivre	
15 douzaines 1/2 idem (boutons) de cuivre	Boutons de cuivre: 50s à 15L la douzaine.
1 L. (livre) 1/4 de fil d'Epinay	Fil d'Epinay et de Flandres: prix commun, 4L 10s la livre
1/2 L. idem (fil d'Epinay)	
1 L. quatre onces idem (fil d'Epinay)	
7 L. de fil de Rennes	Fil de chanvre de Rennes et de Poitou: 20s à 30s la livre.
9L. 1/2 de fil de Poitou	
1 L. 3 onces de soye	
4L. 1/2 de poil de chevre assorty	Poil de chèvre: 3L à 4L 10s la botte.
70 petits étuis à éguille de carton	
3 dês à coudre	
9 L. 3/4 d'éguilles à tricotter	Aiguilles à tricoter: s'achètent non au nombre mais au poids, 13s 3d la livre (1 livre: 200 à 225 aiguilles selon la grosseur.)
9 douzaines d'épingles	
2 douzaines et 2 idem (épingles)	
4 paires de cardes à carder	
8250 éguilles à coudre	
4200 agraphes à corcet	

Vêtements:

1 cremone de chenille, en mauvais estat	
2 cremoire de dentelle ordinaires	
1 coeffure de gaze	
1 idem (coeffure de gaze)	Coiffe de gaze: 40s à 3L pièce.
1 idem	
1 idem	
1 idem	

1 idem un peu moindres
6 égraittes à cheveux
4 paires de bas de soye à femme

Chaussures:

82 paires de grands sabots
62 idem (paires de sabots) moyens et petits

Accessoires:

8 paires de boucle d'acier	Boucles en acier: 18s à 20s la douzaine.
4 paires idem de Tombac - à souliers	Boucles de tombac: 40s à 8L la douzaine.

Inventory of 1741[1]

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33 colliers de petites perles jaunes
12 éventails communs
3 idem (éventails) à ballennes d'yvoire
7 douzaines de gants de Niort pour homme
11 paires idem de Vendome
3 paires idem de Niort à femme
18 paires idem de Vendome pour enfant
16 paires idem de Niort pour enfant
12 paires idem (gants) à homme passés au lait
1 paire idem drapés à homme
1 canne de jonc sans poignée
brosse à habit
linge et accessoires:
6 couvertes à berceau
38 L. (livre) de laine à matelas
1 L. 3/4 d'anneaux étamés pour rideau

Ustensiles:

2 douzaines 3 fourchettes d'acier communes
11 douzaines de grandes couteaux Siamois à manche de corne
23 couteaux moyens boucherons

2 poêles à frire pezant 15L. ¼
24 petites chaudières de cuivre jaune
10 L. 3/4 de petits poellons à queue
idem (en cuivre jaune)
1 chaudière de cuivre rouge réparée pézant 8 L. ½
9 couvertures (couvercles) de marmittes
entole pesant 5L 1/2

Nourriture:

20 L. de ris
6145 L. de lard marchard
211 L. idem en pieds et en tête
1 barique ½ de mélasse
5878 de farine blutée entière
719 minots de bled
50 L. d'huile d'olive

Articles de toilette:

1 douzaine de peignes fins vidés
7 peignes de bois ordinaires
5 peignes d'yvoire
10 razoirs à manche de corne
11 miroirs couverts de cuir rouge
1 idem (miroir) petit à cadre verny

Outils et instruments:

3 petites vrilles
10 douzaines alaines quarrées
17 paires de cizeaux d'acier communs
1000 petits ains à perche
350 idem (ains:hameçons) à truitte
19 idem à barbue
8 faucilles
8 lames de grands sciots
5 scies de bong
3 moyennes serrures à cabinet
700 cloux à bardeau

Luminaires:

2 petites lampes de fer
2 lanternes de fer-blanc neuves

Divers:

5 paires de petites heures communes
28 petits grelots de cuivre
67 petites tabattières de corne
3 écritoires de corne
9 paquets de cordes de boyeau à violons
11 jeux de carte qui ont servy
5 fusils de façon thuilière (de Tulle) porte-pouce et mine d'argent
1 avaloir avec la dossière pour cheval
3 brides
1 L. 3/4 de vermillon
1 L. 1/2 d'azur
13L. 1/2 d'alum

Inventory of 1746[1]

Mercerie:

3 L. de coton filé à 3L 9L

Linge:

2 tapis d'écarlatine contenant 4 aunes à 7L 10s 30L

Utensiles:

3 douzaines assiettes de fayence à 6L la douzaine 18L
12 couteaux de table 18L

Nourriture:

666 minots d'avoine à 25s le minot 832L 10s
12 mesures de bois pour mesurer l'avoine 15s la pièce 9L

Inventory of 1741[1]

Luminaires:

2 lampes de fer 2L pièce 4L
3 lanternes 4L pièce 12L
1 barrique d'huile à brûler 60L
100 lbs de chandelle à 14s la livre 70L

Outils:

bêches, blanchissoir
faux à faucher, pics, pelles, pioches, vrilles
1 enclume à maréchal
Cloux

Divers:

4 paires de raquettes à 5L pièce 20L
plaques de poêle
poêles
bois de chauffage

Inventory of 1748[1]

Linge:

2 tapis d'écarlatine à 15L pièce 30L

Mobilier:

1 pendulle à répetition 300L

Ustensiles:

3 douzaines d'assiettes de fayance à 6L 18L
12 coutteaux de table à 30s 18L
125 lbs de chaudière de cuivre hors de service à 10s 62L 10s

Luminaires:

52 lbs de chandelles à 15s 39L
2 lampes de fer à 40s 4L
3 lanternes de fer-blanc à 4L 12L

Nourriture:

avoine et foin

Divers:

50 seaux de bois non ferrés à 20s 50L
200 Carreaux de verre de 8/9 à 40L le cent 80L
4 paires de raquettes 5L la paire 20L
1 vieille carriolle 15L
cloux
plaques de poêle
poêles

APPENDIX E. Houses Mentioned in Les Forges Inventories[1]

Year	Name of Occupant	Trade	Wages	House Dimensions	Type of Construction	Chimney	House Value
1741	Bélisle (Chèvrefils)	carpenter	1000L/yr	39½'x25'	house & shop vertical posts and cross stakes	1 stone double	
	Delorme	founder	700L/yr	30'x30'	2 sides next to blast-furnace, 2 sides of *pièces sur pièces*	1 stone single	
	Godard & Bériau	forgeman carpenter	700L/yr 900L/yr	38½'x24'	*pièces sur pièces*	1 stone double	
	Forgemen at lower forge: Dautel, Chaillé & Mergé	forgeman foregman forgeman	700L/yr 900L/yr 700L/yr	41½'x30'	*pièces sur pièces*	1 single 1 triple stone	
	Forgemen at upper forge: Marchand, Cantenet & Michelin	forgemen moulder forgemam	700L/yr 600L/yr 700L/yr	23'x68'	vertical posts & cross stakes	2 double 1 single stone	
	Marinau,	farrier	1000L/yr	15'x60'	cross and vertical timbers	1 stone single	
	Marinau & Robichon	carter forgeman	360L/yr 700L/yr				
1746 & 1748	Godard & Bériau						1958L 11s 2d
	Forgemen at lower forge						2918L 7s
	Forgemen at upper forge						5096L 18s 10d
	Marinau & Robichon						795L 8s 5d
	Portugais	carter	360L/yr			1 stone single	500L
	Champagne	foreman	700L/yr			1 stone single	500L
1760	6 houses				*pièces sur pièces*		

APPENDIX F. Huts Mentioned in Les Forges Inventories[1]

Year	Name of Occupant	Trade	Wages	Hut Dimensions	Type of Construction	Chimney	Hut Value
1741	Boisvert (De Nevers)	journeyman	30L/mo.		vertical & cross stakes	1 earth single	
	Grenier	carter	30L/mo.		cross stakes	1 earth single	
	Dufresne	carter	30L/mo.			1 single half earth, half stone	
	Cardinal	carter	30L/mo.		cross timbers	1 earth single	
	Nicolas Chaput	collier	30L/mo.	29½'x10'	cross stakes	1 earth single	
	Nicolas	journeyman	30L/mo.	24'x15'	cross stakes	1 earth single	
	At the foot of the hill				cross stakes	none	
1746	Chapu	collier	30L/mo.				149L 10s
1748	Chapu & Marier	*dresseur* carter	30L/mo. 30L/mo.				250L
	Constantino	collier	30L/mo.				100L
	Lacombe	carter	30L/mo.				100L
	Portugais	carter	30L/mo.				130L
	Périgord	journeyman	30L/mo.				50L
	At the foot of the hill						80L
1760	17 huts						

APPENDIX G. Items of Men's Clothing Mentioned in Workmen's Inventories

Name	Trade	Year of Inventory	Item	Value	Total Value
Champagne	foreman	1749	1 suit of cloth & jacket	40L	249L 10s
			1 suit with silver buttons	40L	
			1 suit with red jacket	30L	
			1 suit of chamois lined with *carisé*	15L	
			1 pair breeches chamois lined with *carisé*	6L	
			4 fine shirts @10L	40L	
			1 shirt of linen	3L	
			8 shirts of grass-bleached linen @5L	40L	
			1 hairsack	2L 10s	
			5 cotton caps @ 2L	10L	
			2 woolen caps	4L	
Duval	journeyman	1750	1 waistcoat and	12L	19L
			1 jacket of soldier's stuff		
			4 men's shirts	4L	
			1 old waistcoat and an old worn jacket	3L	
			2 old pairs of sheepskin breeches		
Godard	forgeman	1756	1 long jacket and breeches	50L	50L
Marchand	forgeman	1750	1 suit	140L	140L
Pellerin	journeyman	1751	1 jacket	4L	11L 10s
			3 old pairs of breeches	6L	
			1 woolen hat	1L 10s	

APPENDIX H. Items of Women's Clothing Mentioned in Workmen's Inventories

Name	Year of Inventory	Item of Clothing	Value
Champagne	1749	used clothing reserved for the widow	"mémoire"
		5 shifts	30L
		1 cloth mantlet (short cloak)	30L
Chèvrefils	1765	1 cape	13L
		3 petticoats	30L
		1 petticoat of *carisé*	6L
		2 petticoats, 1 of plush 1 of carisé	16L
		3 cloth skirts	15L
		3 capes of calico	15L
		2 capes & 1 cloak	12L
		5 new shifts	25L
		9 old shifts	18L
		5 handkerchiefs of white linen	8L
		6 coifs	9L
		8 lesser coifs	6L
Duval	1750	1 petticoat of *calemande*	7L
		1 old cape of *calemande*	3L
		1 petticoat of drugget	7L
		1 small cape of *calemande*	3L 10s
		1 silk kerchief	2L
		4 worn shifts	4L
		8 shifts of *toile du pays*, half unuseable	12L
		2 other shifts of common stuff	4L 10s
		2 handkerchiefs	1L

APPENDIX I. Merchandise in Les Forges Shop According to Conrad Gugy Inventory

Foodstuffs inventoried:

dans une autre chambre servant de Magasin
- 60 lbs. de cassonade grise

dans le second grenier
- 25 quintaux de farine

dans la cave
- 1 quart avec 8 gallons de vinaigre
- 1 tonne du mélasse pleine et environ 10 gallons dans une autre tonne
- 1 barrique de vin de Madère
- 1 pipe de vin d'Espagne aux trois quarts vide
- 8 quarts et 5 tonnes Contenants ensemble 3,950 lbs. de lard

dans un hangar
- 4 minots de pois[1]

a la laitrie (laiterie)
- un cartier de boeuf
- de la viande debité dans un card
- un pain de Suive
- 2 pain Suive
- 2 pain Suive
- 2 pain Suive
- des greton dans un card
- un Card de Gras

a la Vieye (vieille) Maison
- un card de tripe pour faire
- du Savon avec une quaize (caisse)
- au hangard Rouge:
- un Cochon mor (mort)
- farine En fleur 8 quin^x (Quintaux)
- un Vieu panie avec une Morue[2]

dans le magasin
- 2430 lbs de lard
- 99 pain[3]

APPENDIX J. References to Colours: Furniture and Bedding

Inventory	Year of Inventory	Beds	Tables	Seats	Cupboards chests etc.	Others
Anderson	1796	calico bedding white bedspread			1 green chest 1 brown chest 1 blue chest	
J.B. Gilbert	1799				2 blue sideboards	
Robichon	1807					curtains
Houssette	1807			7 straw chairs 5 green chairs 5 green chairs		
Kenyon					1 green chest	
Lamothe	1810		1 blue table			
Lewis	1820				1 brown armoire	
Comeau (1st r.*) (2nd r.)	1821			6 green chairs 3 green chairs 6 straw chairs		
J. Raymond	1825	red valance			1 white buffet	
Comeau-Chailloux	1825				1 green buffet	
Rivard	1830		1 red table	8 straw chairs	1 blue buffet 1 gray armoire	
Terreau	1830		1 red table	6 painted chairs 12 straw chairs 2 painted easy chairs	1 white buffet 1 brown buffet	white curtains
Gendreau (sale)	1837	2 red bedsteads	1 unpainted table	4 cherry chairs 8 black chairs 1 red sofa	1 white corner cabinet 1 blue buffet 1 red armoire 1 cherry chest of drawers	
H. Raymond		3 black bedsteads				
Imbleau	1843			6 blue chairs 4 straw chairs	1 blue armoire	
Pellerin	1845	1 bedstead, dark		6 brown chairs 4 straw chairs	1 green armoire 1 red chest of drawers	
[illegible]	[illegible]		11 black chairs			
[illegible] (1st r.)	[illegible]		1 varnished pine table	6 varnished pine chairs 1 varnished pine sofa	1 wooden chest of drawers 1 brown armoire	1 painted washstand

*r: room

APPENDIX K. Merchandise in the Shop at Les Forges under McDougall[1]

Foodstuffs inventoried

Une demie livre de graine d'ognon
douze lbs de fleur (arrowroot)
...
deux lbs de muscade
...
quinze lbs de crackers
un demi baril de soda
...
one barrel flour
...
one quarter of a barrel seal oil
four empty barrels of pork
eight empty barrels of flour
...
two pounds of mustard with Jub
...
une lbs et demie de canelle
trois boites de thé à peu près vingt cinq lbs
...
deux cent lbs de riz
...
un demi baril de sucre
...
une minot et demie de sel

APPENDIX L. Livestock at Les Forges According to Censuses[1]

Year of Census	Owners	Cattle Beef	Pigs	Sheep	Horses
1784		25	4		22
1831	58 households	81	22		22
	W. Hooper, hired hand	2			
	H. MacAuley, superintendent	60	100	60	53
1851	38 households	40	6	1	13
	Jeffrey Brock, superintendent	8		13	14
1861	33 households	10	6	3	19
	Porter & Stuarts	8			1
1871	44 households	8	43	17	7
	Dr. Beauchemin	27	20	63	9
	Robert & David McDougall	17	15	24	33

APPENDIX M. Clothing of Workmen

Name	Year of Inventory	Shirts	Cravats	Jackets	Jackets & Breeches	Breeches	Coats	Waist-coats	Coats & Breeches	Overcoats	Belts
Anderson, J.	1796	16 Irish linen 4 trimmed 16 linen & cotton	6 muslin	2 flanelette 1 striped 3	1 black satin	2 nankeen	1 black cloth				
Cochrane, T.	1834	3 cotton	3 cotton	1 blue cloth 2 brown cloth 3		1 brown cloth 2 stuff 1 brown 1 short	1 green cloth		1 brown cloth	1 grey cloth 1 brown cloth	
Gilbert, A.	1804	5	3	4		2					
Houle	1808	3		2		2 linen	1 blue cloth		1 cloth	1	
Lacommande, C.	1810	3 wool 1 cotton		2		2			2		
Michelin, J.	1851					1 cashmere					
Moussette, J.	1807	4 fine	1 silk	5		5	3		1	1	

Name	Year of Inventory	Frock-coats	Fur bogs	Cloaks	Short Overcoats	Wraps	Hats etc.	Footwear (prs)	Gloves & Mittens	Hand-kerchiefs	Mufflers
Anderson, J.	1796	1 cloth	3 lynx	1 cloth		2 calico	3 hats 1 straw 3 bonnets 1 cap 1 hat 1 blue bonnet 1 highland bonnet	1 high boots 1 boots 1 shoes 1 high boots 2 shoes	1 mittens 1 gloves	3 silk	1
Comeau, F.	1821			1	1		1 hat				1
Gilbert, A.	1804			1	1		1 hat				1
Houle	1808			1	1			1 shoes	1 gloves	2	
Lacommande, C.	1810			1			1 bonnet 1 hat				
Moussette, J.	1807			2			1 hat 1 bonnet 1 cap	1 boots 1 shoes	1 gloves	1	

Name	Year of Inventory	Stockings (prs)	Under-pants	Under-shirts	Garters	Buckles	Jewellery	Personal Effects	Skates & Snowshoes	Canes & Umbrellas	Others
Anderson, J.	1796	9 silk & cotton 1 cotton 2	1 wool	1	1	2	1 silver watch	1 spy glass 1 whistle 1 wallet	1 skates	1 cane 1 umbrella	
Cochrane, T.	1834	4 2 wool	1 flannel 1					1 watch & one seal			1 leather apron
Lewis, S.	1820	1						1 wallet		2 umbrellas	
Moussette, J.	1802	1					1 gold ring			1 umbrella	1 crape
Pellerin, F.	1845	1 socks					1 watch				1 veil
Robichon, N.	1807								3 snowshoes	1 umbrella	
Tassé, J.	1811								1 snowshoes	1 umbrella	
Terreau, J.	1830									1 umbrella	

APPENDIX N. Clothing of the Administrator

Name	Year of inventory	Shirts	Cravats	Jackets	Breeches	Coats	Waistcoats	Stockings	Underpants	Handkerchiefs
MacAuley, T.	1820	14 flannel 12 cotton 12 linen 1 nightcap cotton 3 nightcaps flannel	14 5 black silk	18	1 (trousers)	1 long 1 short		12 wool 29 cotton 2 black silk	14 flannel	
Munro, J.	1820	10 Irish linen 1 cotton	28 neckerchiefs	11 8 black 1 leather lined	12 nankeen 7(trousers)	1 black 3 cloth 1 red cloth	3 flannel	9 cotton 9 wool 2 white cotton	2	17 silk 1 black silk 3
Pullman, J.	1804	1 flannel 10 linen	5 cambric	4 cashmere 2 black 4	1 nankeen 5 cloth 5 short cloth	1 blue 1 grey 1 black 1 blue	1 blue 1 fustian 1 nankeen	11 wool 2 silk		5 silk

Name	Year	Frock-coats	Cloaks	Hats, etc.	Footwear (prs)	Gloves & Mittens (prs)	Buckles (prs)	Jewellry	Personal Effects	Umbrella	Snowshoes
MacAulay, Z.	1820	2 cloth 2 nightcaps 1 calico bonnet	1	1 marten 2 1 nightcap 1 bonnet calico	4 high boots						
Munro, J.	1820	2 blue	2	11 bonnets 2 hats 2 straw 1 cap	3 high boots 7 shoes 4 soft shoes 1 high boots				1 pr. spurs 1 boot hook	1	1
Pullman, J.	1804	2		2 3 bonnets 1 wool periwig	1 high boots	1 mittens	1	1 gold watch	1 eyeglasses 1 boot hook 1 wallet 1 purse		

APPENDIX O. Women's Clothing

Joint Estate	Year of Inventory	Shifts	Dresses	Skirts	Petticoats	Aprons	Handkerchiefs	Shawls	Pockets	Vests	Short Cloaks
Anderson, J.	1796	16 Irish linen 5 "toile du pays" 2 jabots	18 calico	10 calico 1 drugget 1 *cerisé*		3 muslin 1 fine linen	14 muslin	1 Indian	2	1	6 calico 2
Cochrane, T.	1834						1	1			
Gilbert, A.	1804	6			3						1
Gilbert, J.B.	1799				2 calico 1 dimity flounced 1 crimson						2 dimity
Lamothe, L.	1810	5 "toile du pays"	2	2 drugget	4			2 1 wool			2 short 1
Moussette, J.	1807		4		1						1
Robichon, N.	1807	1		1 silk 2 *calemande* 1 stuff 3		3 muslin	2 muslin 1 brown	2			5
Sawyer, N.	1816		1 white cambric 1 calico		1 cotton	1		1			2
Tassé, J.	1811	11			3		1	1			11

Joint Estate	Year of Inventory	Coifs	Caps	Hats	Veils	Stockings (prs)	Shoes (prs)	Cloaks Cloaks	Capes Capes	Fur Wraps Fur Boas Fur-lined Coats	Gloves Muffs
Anderson, J.	1796	16 muslin 1	1 marten		1	6 cotton 6 wool	1		2 black silk	1 boa 2 wraps	4 g. linen 2 g. silk 2 g. black 1 marten muff
Gilbert, A.	1804				1	5				1 fur-lined coat	
Gilbert, J.-B.	1799	3 muslin				1 black	1 silk	1	1 cloth		1 muff
Lamothe, L.	1810		1 marten	1		4				1 boa (wolf) 4 wraps 2 fur coats	1 muff (wolf) 1 gloves
Robichon, N.	1807	4 6 nightcaps	1	1		3 2 wool 2 cotton 2 socks	2				
Sawyer, M.	1816	2					1			5 wraps	
Tassé, J.	1811	1				1		1			1 gloves

APPENDIX P. Workmen's Vehicles and Horses

Name	Year of Inventory	Vehicle	Accessories	Value of Vehicles and Accessories	Horses	Harness	Value of Horse & Harness
Anderson, J.	1796	1 caleche	1 caleche top 1 buggy cushion		1	1 breaststrap 1 set harness	
Comeau, F.	1821					1 saddle	
Comeau-Chailloux	1825	1 cutter 1 cart 1 sled 1 sleigh	1 cutter 1 cutter cushion	46L 10s	1	1 set harness	91L
Cook, A.	1853	1 caleche 1 cutter 1 tumbrel 1 sleigh		96L	1 1 filly	2 complete sets harness	606L
Gilbert, A.	1804	2 sleighs	cutter	12L			
Imbleau, C.	1845	1 cutter 2 sleighs 2 carts 1 caleche	1 cutter robe 2 cushions runners	166L 4s	2	2 collars 1 saddle 2 halters 2 sets harness	400L 8s
Kenyon, W.	1809	1 cart				2 sets harness, halters 2 prs. hames 1 iron collar	
Lamothe, L.	1810	1 caleche 1 sled 1 cart 1 cutter	1 pr. (caleche)	211L		2 harness sets	12L
Lewis, S.	1820	1 small cart 1 sleigh 1 caleche 1 cutter	2 cutter robes	246L	1	2 harness sets	327L
Michelin, J.	1851	1 caleche 1 cart for wood 1 sleigh 1 cutter	2 cutter robes 1 cutter cushion	165L 10s	1	1 set work harness 1 set dress harness 1 halter 2 whips 1 string of bells	459L 10s
Munro, J.	1820	1 wagon	1 fur cutter robe	145L 4s	1 1 mare	1 saddle 1 bridle	722L 8s
Moussette, J.	1807	1 cutter 1 caleche 1 cart 1 sleigh	1 cutter robe	156L	1	1 set of harness 1 bridle 1 hand saddle 1 collar	264L
Robichon, P.N.	1807	1 cutter 1 sleigh 1 caleche	1 cutter cushion pillows & cushions 2 cutter robes	163L 4s	1	1 saddle 1 bridle 1 double harness 1 collar & bells 1 set harness 1 currycomb	198L 6s
Sawyer, M.	1816	1 small cart	1 ironmongery for caleche 1 pr. wheels 1 caleche seat 1 caleche shaft	138L	1	1 set of harness 1 iron chain 2 collar coupling-pins	211L 16s
Tassé, J.	1811	1 caleche 1 cutter 2 carts	2 cutter robes	106L 16s	1	2 sets of harness 2 collars iron traces	151L
Terreau J.	1830	1 cutter 1 small cart 1 caleche 1 sleigh	1 cutter robe 1 cutter back	147L	1	1 set silvered harness breaststraps, collar 1 set work harness	192L

ENDNOTES

Introduction

1 It concerns the artisans Christophe Janson, called Lapalme, Louis Bélisle called Chèvrefils and Jean-Baptiste Labrèche.

2 Canada, Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 57, pp. 110-13, 11 October 1732, arrival of two founders in 1731; Quebec; Archives Nationales de Québec (hereafter cited as ANQQ), Jacques Pinquet records, 18 July1773, arrival of five works.

3 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 110, t. 2, pp. 219-22, 14 March 1736; PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 65, t. 2, pp. 398-402, 13 May 1737; PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 72, p. 29, 1729; PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t. 1, pp. 198-203, 24 October 1740.

4 Louis Franquet, *Voyages et mémoires sur le Canada en 1752-1753* (Toronto: Canadiana House, 1968), pp. 21-22.

5 PAC, MG21, B21, Vol. 1, pp. 70-71, 30 June 1761; PAC RG4, A3, Vol. 26, p.9, 21 August 1765; PAC, MG1, G1, Vol. 458-459, p. 80, 20 March 1770.

6 PAC, MG23, GI, Vol. 2, pp. 5-6, 1 October 1760

7 PAC MG11, C.O., 323, Vol. 16, p. 16, census of Three Rivers government.

8 Their presence is announced by a letter from Chriostphe Péllissier to George Allsopp, 25 July 1769; ANQQ, APG, 3131, Allsopp papers, 25 July 1769.

9 MG21, G2, Vol. 225, t.2, p. 388.

10 John Lambert, *Travels through Canada and the United States of North America in the Years 1806, 1807 and 1808* (London: C. Cradock and W. Joy, 2nd ed., 1813), p. 485.

11 PAC, RG31, A1, Lower Canada Census, 1825, FSM, C-718, pp. 1574-75; PAC, RG31, A1, Lower Canada Census, 1831, FSM, C-723.

12 PAC, RG4-4, Vol. 225, p. 84, list of Mathew Bell in 1829; PAC, RG4, B15, Vol. 18, p. 8824, list of Mathew Bell in 1842.

13 Marie-France Fortier, "Rapport d'étude sommaire des chiffres concernant la population des Forges du Saint-Maurice." Manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Quebec (1976), p. 47.

PAC, RG4, A1, 8, Vol. 66, pp. 20993-20995. Petition of Davidson, Munro and Bell, 18 September 1797: "They have at great expence improved these works by ... the introduction of artificers from Europe." Further three newspaper advertisements mention that Mathew Bell has imported workers from England and Scotland; *Gazette du Quebec*, 14 August 1817, 27 January 1820, 30 March 1820.

15 PAC, RG31, A1, Canada East Census, 1851, C-1139.

16 Canada Directory, 1858.

17 PAC, RG31, A1, Canada Census 1871, C-667.

18 Feuilleur: person responsible for leafing the stack, that is covering it with leaves and charcoal dust which is charred to make the charcoal.

19 Dresser: person responsible for dressing the pieces of charcoal or stacks which are covered with leaves and which are charred to make the charcoal.

20 Louis Franquet, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

21 John Lambert, op. cit., pp. 484-85.

22 Benjamin Sulte, "Les légendes des forges vues par Benjamin Sulte," *Contes et legendes des Vieilles Forges* (Three Rivers: Editions du Bien Public, coll. L'Histoire regionale, No. 16, 1954), p. 9.

23 Napoléon Caron, "Légendes des Forges du Saint-Maurice," *Contes et légendes des Vielles Forges* (Three Rivers: Editions du Bien Public, coll. L'Histoire régionale, No. 16, 1954), pp. 15-16.

24 John Lambert, op. cit., p. 486.

25 Joseph Bouchette, The British Dominions in North America Vol 3, *A Topographical Dictionary of Lower Canada* (London: Longman, Reer, Orme, Green, Brown and Longman, 1832), St Etienne, fief.

26 Paul Robert, *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*, 13th ed. (Paris: Société du Nouveau Littré - Le Robert, 1974).

27 PAC, RG4, A1, Vol. 191, Nos 17-17A, 4 December 1827, Mathew Bell to A.W. Cochrane.

28 PAC, RG4, B15, Vol. 18, p. 8845.

29 A. Daumard, "Structures sociales et classement socio-professionel," *Revue historique*, No. 1 (1962), p. 144; P. Goubert, "Intérêt et utilisation historique des papiers de successions," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, Vol. 1 (January-March 1954), p. 24; L. Lavallée, "Les archives notariales et l'histoire sociale de la Nouvelle-France," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Dec. 1974), p. p. 396.

30 Inventory of 1741: PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.1, pp. 39-109, F112 (hereafter cited as Inventory of 1741); Inventory of 1746:PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.2, pp. 260-66, F112 (hereafter cited as Inventory of 1746); Inventory of 1748: PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.2, pp. 285-92, F112 (hereafter cited as Inventory of 1948); Inventory of 1760: PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.2, pp. 340-42, F112 (hereafter cited as Inventory of 1760).

31 Three Rivers. Archives Nationales du Québec (hereafter cited as ANQTR), Joseph Badeaux records, 1 April 1807 (hereafter cited as Inventory of 1807).

Part I Domestic Life in Les Forges du Saint-Maurice 1729-60

Domestic Life in La Grande Maison

1 *La Grande Maison* was built by the Cugnet company. Formerly, Francheville had had a house built, a big house but on a reduced scale, and had furnished and equipped it with utensils. This house was located close to the lower forge; it was occupied by Francheville and the workmen. In 1741 it was occupied by the workmen Godard and Bériau.

2 Jean Bélisle, *Le domaine de l'habitation aux Forges du Saint-Maurice*, manuscript on file, Parks Canada, Quebec National Historic Parks and Sites Branch (September 1976) pp. 67-68.

3 Inventory of 1741, pp. 48-49.

4 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 110, t.2, p. 365 and Vol. 74, pp. 130-31.

5 Philippe Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous ancien régime* (Paris: coll. L'Univers historique, Editions du Seuil, 1973), pp. 444-45.

6 Jean Bélisle, op. cit., p. 69.

7 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 381-86, 398, 405, 408, 428, 429.

8 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 176.

9 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.1, pp. 341, 288 and Vol. 110, t.1, pp. 48-49.

10 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 176 and Vol. 112, t.1, pp. 288-400.

11 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.1, pp. 168-70.

12 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 381.

13 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.2, p. 433.

14 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 354.

15 Louis Franquet, op. cit., p. 20.

16 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 110, t.2, p. 280.

17 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.1, pp. 168-70.

18 Idem.

19 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 374.

20 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.1, pp. 345-48.

21 Inventories of 1746 and 1748.

22 Inventory of 1741, p. 53.

23 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 266.

24 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 341.

25 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.1, pp. 397-98.

26 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 110, t.2, p. 64.

27 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 433-34; PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 364-65.

28 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 421-25; PAC MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 110, t.1, pp. 359-80.
29 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 110, t.2,p. 64.
30 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 364-65.
31 Pierre Kalm, *Voyages de Pierre Kalm dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, translation by L.W. Marchand (Montreal: T. Berthéaume, 1880), Vol. 1, pp. 138-40.
32 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.1, pp. 175-76.
33 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.2, p. 433.
34 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 176.
35 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 288.
36 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 400.
37 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.2, p. 406.
39 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.2, p. 407.

Domestic Life of the Workmen

1 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 110, t.2, pp. 168-69.
2 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 110, t.2, p. 331.
3 Inventory of 1741 and Inventory de 1760.
4 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. III, t.1, p. 256.
5 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. III, t.1, p. 258.
6 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. III, t.1, pp. 261-62.
7 ANQTR, records, Joseph Caron, 7 August 1745.
8 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. III, t.1, pp. 262-63.
9 ANQQ, NF-25, No. 1286, 3 July 1742.
10 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.1, pp. 359-61.
11 ANQQ, NF-13, No. 1178½, September-October 1739.
12 Inventory of 1741, p. 53.
13 ANQQ, NF-25, No. 1286, 3 July 1742.
14 Frédéric LePlay, "Fondeurs slovaques des usines à argent de Schemnitz (Hongrie), ouvriers-propriétaires et tâcherons dans le système des engagements volontaires permanents, avec un précis de la monographie ayant pour objet le charbonnier de la Carinthie (19) d'après les renseignements recueillis sur les lieux, en 1846, par MM. A. Saglio et F LePlay," (Slovak founders of the Schemnitz, Hungary, silver refineries, worker-owners and piece workers in the voluntary permanent indenture system, with a summary of the monograph concerning the Carinthian charcoal-burner (19) from information collected on the site, in 1846, by Messrs. A. Saglio and F. LePlay), *Les ouvriers européens*, 2nd ed. (Tours: Alfred Mame and Son, 1879), Tome 4: Les ouvriers de l'Occident, Vol. 2, p. 34.
15 Jackson Kemper, *American Charcoal Making* (Hopewell, Va.: Hopewell Village National Historic Site, n.d.), p. 8.
16 Philippe Ariès, op. cit., p. 445.
17 L. Décarie-Audet, N. Genêt and L. Vermette, *Les objets familiers de nos ancêtres* (Montreal: Editions de l'Homme, 1974), pp. 94, 98, 99.

18 H. Têtu and C.-O. Gagnon, ed., *Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des évêques de Quebec* (Quebec City: A Coté and Co., 1888), Vol. 2, p. 15, pastoral letter of 20 April 1742. This letter from Mgr. Pontbriand was addressed to the Acadians. Being a pastoral letter from the bishop of New France, it was circulated in all parishes.

19 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 357.

20 PAC, MG21, B21-2 (21681), tape A615, pp. 87-88.

21 PAC, MG8, A6, C^{11}A, Vol. 12, pp. 74-75.

22 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 366.

23 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 168.

24 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 267.

25 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 311-12.

26 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 110, t.2, pp. 356, 367, 368; PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 310-18

27 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 202.

28 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.1, pp. 74, 75, 79, 366.

29 Robert-Lionel Séguin, "Le menu quotidien en Nouvelle-France," *Liberté*, Vol. 10 (1969), p. 72.

30 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 389.

31 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 391, 408 (sifting flour); pp. 389, 390, 392, 437 (transportation of wheat and flour).

32 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 9 Sept. 1749.

33 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 110, t.2, p. 130.

34 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 262.

35 PAC, MG8, A6, Vol. 17, pp. 409-12.

36 Nicolas-Gaspard Boucault, "Etat présent du Canada," *Report of the Archivist for the Province of Québec for 1920-21* (Quebec City: King's Printer, 1921), p. 14.

37 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 306.

38 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 168.

39 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 389-90.

40 Nicolas-Gaspard Boucault, op. cit., p. 14.

41 Chevalier de la Pause, "La population et la culture des terres," *Report of the Archivist for the Province of Quebec for 1933-34* (Quebec City: King's Printer), Vol. 14, p. 212.

42 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.2, p. 425.

43 Inventory of 1746.

44 PAC, MG8, A6, Vol. 14, pp. 134-36, 9 April 1737.

45 PAC, MG8, A6, Vol. 18, pp 175-76, 22 April [1746].

46 PAC, MG23, G1, 4, Vol. 2, pp. 100, 101-2, 19 May 1762.

47 Louis Franquet, op. cit., p. 19.

48 Nicolas-Gaspard Boucault, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

49 Heather N. Nicol, *Faunal Analysis of Selected Contexts at St. Maurice* (Ottawa: Zooarchaeological Identification Centre, National Museum of Natural Sciences 1978), p. 153.

50 Barbue: ocean fish, flat and good for eating, of the turbot type but with softer flesh (editor's

translation). Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tous les mots francais tant vieux que modernes, & des termes de toutes les sciences et des arts*, Arnaut & Reinier, Leers, 1690, Vol. 1; barbue: river fish of the catfish family (editor's translation). Narcisse Eutrope Dionne, *Le parler populaire des Canadiens français ou lexique des canadianismes, acadianismes, anglicismes, américanismes, mots anglais le plus en usage au sein des familles canadiennes et acadiennes francaises* (Quebec City: Laflamme & Proulx, 1909), p. 58.

51 Prosper Cloutier, *Histoire de la paroisse de Champlain* (Three Rivers: Le Bien Public, 1915), t.1, p. 230.

52 Ibid., p. 227.

53 Heather N. Nicol, op. cit., pp. 152-53.

54 Pierre Kalm, op. cit., p. 194.

55 Ibid., p. 91.

56 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 121, t.1, "Etat des droits ... pour imposition des droits à l'entrée et à la sortie sur toutes les marchandises entrantes au dit pais de Canada ou qui en sortiront" (Statement of duties ... for imposition of import and export duties on all merchandise entering or leaving the said country of Canada), Coffee, p. 226; Tea, p. 323.

57 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 264.

58 J. Edmond Roy, *Histoire de la seigneurie de Lauzon* (Lévis: private publication, 1904), Vol. 4, p. 165.

59 According to a study of a collection of 200 post-mortem inventories from the period 1740-60, deposited at Archives Nationales de Québec à Montreal (ANQM); also from the analysis of two post-mortem inventories of two joint estates of Louis Chèvrefils dit Bélisle (1765, 1776).

60 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 20 January 1756.

61 Jean Trudel, *L'orfèvrerie du Nouvelle-France* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1974), p. 203.

62 Marcel Trudel, *Initiation à la Nouvelle-France* (Montreal, Holt, Rinehart et Winston Ltd, 1968), p. 272.

63 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 49, t.2, p. 317.

64 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.2, p. 391.

65 Nora Dawson, *La vie traditionnelle à Saint-Pierre (Ile d'Orléans)* (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1960), p. 111.

66 Ras: "se dit des étoffes qui sont unies, dont le poil ne paroît point." *Ras* (shorn, short-napped): "term used to describe smooth fabrics with no visible nap." Antoine Furetière, op. cit., Tome III.

67 Calemande: "Etoffe de laine croisée et solide, lustrée comme le satin, unie, blanche, et en général, de toutes les couleurs réclamées par la mode, qui se fabrique en Angleterre, en France et en Allemagne, et que l'on

emploie souvent pour robes de chambre, robes d'été et pantalons." (Solid twilled woollen fabric, lustrous like satin, plain, white and generally all fashionable colours, manufactured in England, France and Germany, and frequently used for dressing gowns, summer gowns and trousers.) R.-L. Séguin, *Le costume* ... quotation from dictionary by Bescherelle, ed. 1867, p. 71.

68 Monique Lagrenade, *Le costume civil à Louisbourg: 1713-1758; le costume féminin*, travail inédit No. 38 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1971).

69 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 121, t.1, "Etat des droits ... pour l'imposition des droits à l'entree et à la sortie sur toutes les marchandises entrantes au dit païs de Canada ou qui en sortiront," satin, pp. 312-13; butter muslin, pp. 258-59; camelot, pp. 227-28; mignonette lace, p. 287; *calemande*, pp. 226-27; taffetas, p. 319; ras de Maroc, pp. 306-7.

70 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 6 March 1756.

71 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 110, t.2, p. 131.

72 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 327-28.

73 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.1, pp. 410-11.

74 Cadis: "Etoffe de laine, à grains, tendue et apprêtée à chaud comme le drap ... Cadis ras ou cadis fin: ceux dont la chaîne se fait avec de la laine d'Aragon, et que l'on teint deux fois." (Woollen fabric, textured, stretched and sized through the use of heat-like flannel ... Smooth or fine caddis: that in which the warp is made of Aragon wool, and which is dyed twice.) R.-L. Séguin, *Le costume* ... quotation from the dictionary by Bescherelle, ed. 1867, p. 263.

75 Mazamet: "Molleton de laine fabriquée à Mazamet (Tarn)." R.-L. Séguin, *Le costume* ..., p. 42.

76 Pinchina: "Etoffe de laine non croisée, qui a d'abord été fabriquée à Toulon et qui fut imitée, au XVIIIe siècle, en Champagne et dans le Berry." (Untwilled woollen fabric, originally manufactured in Toulon and imitated, during the 18th century, in Champagne and Berry.) R.-L. Séguin, *Le costume* ..., p. 48.

77 Jean-Baptiste d'Aleyrac, *Aventures militaires du XVIIIe siècle d'après les Mémoires de Jean-Baptiste d'Aleyrac* (Paris: 1935), p. 29.

78 Pierre Kalm, op. cit., pp. 101-2.

79 M. Baulant, "Niveaux de vie paysans autour de Meaux en 1700 et 1750," *Annales*, 30th year, Nos. 2-3 (March-June 1975), pp. 514-16, Paris.

81 Monique Lagrenade, *Le costume civil à Louisbourg au XVIIIe siècle*, master's thesis (Montreal: University de Montreal, 1974), p. 107.

81 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 410.

82 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 14, t. 2, pp. 336-37.

83 M. Baulant, op. cit., p. 512 "Il y a pourtant des objets, des animaux dont l'existence est attestée à

maintes reprises pour cette époque dans ces villages et qui n'apparaissent pour ainsi dire jamais dans les inventaires: les sabots, par exemple, ou les peignes qui sont recensés dans les balles de colporteurs parcourant la région." (There are, however, certain objects and animals, the existence of which is attested to on numerous occasions for this era in these villages and which almost never appear in the inventories: wooden shoes, for example, or combs, which are listed as having been found in peddlers' sacks in the region.)

84 Pierre Kalm, op. cit., p. 61.

85 Carisé: "Flanelle croisée très épaisse et très forte." *Carisé*: "Very thick, sturdy twilled flannel." N.E. Dionne, op. cit., p. 122.

86 Pierre Kalm, op. cit., p. 194.

87 Ibid., p. 43.

88 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 2 February 1755.

89 Monique Lagrenade, op. cit., p. 153.

90 François Boucher, *Histoire du costume en Occident de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion, 1965), p. 312.

91 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 112, t.1, pp. 286, 339; Vol. 110, t. 2, p. 46.

92 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 175.

93 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 110, t.1, p. 381.

94 ANQQ, NF-13, No. 11781/2, September-October 1739.

95 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 110, t.2, pp. 43-51.

96 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 385-86.

97 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 294.

98 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 110, t.1, p. 379.

100 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 110, t.2, pp. 43-51.

101 PAC, MG1, A6, Vol. 15, pp. 252-53.

102 PAC, MG8, A1, Vol. 19, pp. 386-87.

103 ANQQ , NF-25, 1406-1407-1419, pp. 41-47.

104 Benjamin Sulte, op. cit., p. 123-24.

105 "Résultats de l'enquête sur les fêtes de Saint-Eloi," *Bulletin du comité du folklore champenois*, No. 485 (1931), pp. 32-39.

106 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 167.

107 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 175; Vol. 112, t.1, p. 287.

108 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.2, p. 391.

109 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.2, p. 387.

110 PAC, MG8, A6, Vol. 15, pp. 21-22.

111 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 374.

112 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 110, t.1, p. 368.

113 Pierre Kalm, op. cit., p. 139.

Monographs of Workmen

1 Berthier, Archives of St. Geneviève parish, registry of births, deaths and marriages, 20 May 1787. According

to the burial certificate Pierre Marchand was 72 years old.

2 ANQTR, 1AC 48, registry of births, deaths and marriages of the parish of the Immaculate Conception, 13 November 1740. According to the marriage certificate, the names of the parents and the place of origin are specified. (Hereinafter ANQTR, 1AC 48, Registry of the parish of the Immaculate Conception.)

3 PAC, MG8, A6, Vol 15, pp. 21-22.

4 ANQQ, NF-25, No. 1300.

5 ANQTR, 1AC 48, Registry of the Parish of the Immaculate Conception, 13 November 1740.

6 ANQTR, records, Hyacinthe-Olivier Pressé, 31 January 1739.

7 ANQTR, 1AC 48, Registry of the parish of the Immaculate Conception, 31 July 1748.

8 ANQTR IAC, Registry of the parish of St. Francis Xavier of Batiscan, 8 May 1750; ANQTR, records, Joseph Rouillard, 7 May 1750.

9 ANQTR, records, Nicolas-Claude Duclos, 19 April 1751.

10 Berthier, Archives of the parish of St. Geneviève, Registry 4 February 1768.

11 ANQTR 1AC 48, or 8, Registry of the parish of the Immaculate Conception or from Les Forges mission; pers. comm. M.-F. Fortier.

12 ANQTR, records, Paul Dielle, 16 August 1762.

13 ANQTR, records, Paul Dielle, 26 June 1764.

14 ANQTR, records, Paul Dielle, 22 August 1762.

15 PAC, MG21, B21-2 (21681), tape A615, p. 123.

16 ANQTR, records, Paul Dielle, 19 October 1767.

17 ANQTR, 1AC 48 or 8, Registry of the parish of the Immaculate Conception or Les Forges mission; pers. comm. M.-F. Fortier.

18 ANQTR, records, Paul Dielle, 5 July 1770.

19 Berthier, Archives of the parish of St. Geneviève, registry, 20 May 1787.

20 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 8 July 1752.

21 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 52.

22 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 357.

23 PAC, MG21, B21-1 (21681), tape A615, pp. 87-88.

24 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 112, t.2, p. 340.

25 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 121, t.1, p. 324.

26 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 26 September 1851.

27 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 121, t.1, p. 249.

28 From notary's deeds mentioned in Robert-Lionel Séguin, *Le costume civil en Nouvelle-France*, Bulletin No. 215 (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1958.)

29 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 121, t.1, p. 230.

30 PAC, MG8, A6, Vol. 15, pp. 21-22.

31 ANQQ, NF-25, No. 1300.

32 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 344.

33 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 358.

34 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.2, p. 357.

35 PAC, MG21, B21-1 (21681), tape A615, pp. 87-88.

36 PAC, MG21, B21-1 (21681), tape A615, pp. 123-24.

37 PAC, MG21, B21-1 (21681), tape A615, pp. 133-34.

38 PAC, MG21, B21-1 (21681), tape A615, p. 154.

39 ANQTR, records, Jean Leproust, 15 October 1747.

40 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 8 and 9 July 1752.

41 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 24 September 1752.

42 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 8 October 1754.

43 ANQTR, records, Paul Dielle, 19 October 1767.

44 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 5 August 1755.

45 ANQTR, records, Paul Dielle, 27 April 1770.

46 ANQTR, records, Paul Dielle, 1 November 1761.

47 ANQTR, records, Paul Dielle, 27 MArch 1764.

48 ANQTR, records, Paul Dielle, 5 July 1770.

49 ANQTR, records, Hyacinthe-Olivier Pressé, 26 February 1740.

50 ANQTR, 1AC 48, Registry of the parish of the Immaculate Conception, 1737.

51 ANQTR, 1AC 48, Registry of the parish of the Immaculate Conception, 1739.

52 ANQTR, records, Hyacinthe-Olivier Pressé, 26 February 1740.

53 ANQTR, 1AC 48, Registry of the parish of the Immaculate Conception, 1750.

54 ANQTR, 1AC 8, Registry of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, 8 April 1744, 12 June 1745, 24 June 1747, 25 November 1748, 4 December 1751.

55 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 20 January 1756.

56 ANQTR, 1AC 8, Registry of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, 9 February 1756.

57 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 360.

58 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 361.
PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 355-56.
PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 110, t.1, p. 399.

59 ANQQ, NF-13, No. 1178/12, September-October 1739.

60 Inventory of 1760, p. 340. This document mentions, amongst items of value, 25 stoves for the workers' use. Godard might have been one of the recipients.

61 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 110, t.2, pp. 168-69.

62 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 20 January 1756.

63 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol 112, t.1, p. 361; Vol. 111, t.2, p. 356.

64 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 20 April 1746.

65 Benjamin Sulte, "F.X. Aubry," *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, Vol 15, No. 11 (1909), p. 384, Lévis.

66 ANQTR, records, J. Caron, 7 August 1745.

67 ANQTR, 1AC 48, Registry of the parish of the Immaculate Conception, 7 December 1739.

68 PAC, MG1, C^{11}A, Vol. 72, p. 25.

69 ANQTR, records, Joseph Caron, 7 August 1745.

70 ANQTR, records Louis Pillard, 11 June 1748.

71 ANQTR, records, Jean Leproust, 14 August 1750.
72 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.1, p. 256.
73 ANQTR, records, Joseph Caron, 7 August 1745.
74 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 121, t.1, "Etat des droits ..." toile de Cholet, p. 324; serge, p. 314; couverture de Toulouse, p. 243.
75 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.1, p. 347.
76 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.1, pp. 253-54.
77 Benjamin Sulte, Les Forges Saint-Maurice (Montreal: G. Ducharme, 1920) coll. Mélanges historiques, Vol. 6, p. 73.
78 ANQQ, records, J.M. DeHornay la Neuville, 9 May 1722.
79 ANQTR, 1AC 48, Registry of the parish of the Immaculate Conception, 27 September 1739.
80 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 368-439.
81 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 368-432.
82 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 26 March 1756.
83 ANQTR, 1AC 48, Registry of the parish of the Immaculate Conception, 27 September 1739 (Pierre); ANQTR, 1AC 8, Registry of Saint-Maurice Forges, 29 May 1742 (Louis); 6 June 1744 (Marie); 31 December 1745 (Marie-Thérèse).
84 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 111, t.2, pp. 392, 413.
85 ANQTR, records, Hyacinthe-Olivier Pressé, 23 July 1739.
86 ANQTR, records, Jean Leproust, 21 March 1751.
87 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 14 June 1751.
88 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 20 January 1756.
89 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 26 March 1756.
90 Inventory of 1741.
91 ANQTR, 1AC 8, REgistry of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, 13 February 1747.
92 Ibid.
93 ANQTR, 1AC 8, Registry of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, 9 February 1749.
94 ANQTR, records, Jean Leproust, 21 May 1751.
95 ANQTR, 1AC 8, Registry of les Forges du Saint-Maurice, 26 February 1752 (Jean-Louis); 3 January 1754 (Pierre); 22 October 1755 (Joseph); 9 February 1758 (Louis).
96 ANQTR, records, Louis-Charles Maillet, 24 June 1784.
97 ANQTR, records, Louis Pillard, 14 June 1751.

PART II: Domestic Life in Les Forges du Saint-Maurice: 1793-1845

The Interim Period, 1760-93

1 ANQTR, records, Paul Dielle, 13 March 1769, p.6.
2 ANQTR, records, Benoit Leroy, 15 February 1759, p. 9.
3 ANQM, records, Joseph Papineau, 27 May 1786, No. 679, p. 29.
4 ANQQ, APG 313, Vol. 2, pp. 63-65.

Domestic Life at La Grande Maison

1 Mathew Bell was the owner of the Woodfield residence from 1805 to 1816. André Bernier, Le Vieux Sillery. Les Cahiers du Patrimoine, No. 7, ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec, Direction générale du patrimoine, Québec, 1977, p. 75.

2 ANQTR, records, Antoine-Isidore Badeaux, 17 September 1799.

3 1801: James; 1802: Margaret; 1803: Eleanor; 1804: Frances; 1805: Ann; 1808: William; 1810: Catherine; 1812: Mathew; 1815: David Munro; [1816]: Alexander Davidson; 1820: Helen Elizabeth Turrot; 1823: Bryan Burwell, pers. comm., Marie-France Fortier.

4 Henry Walter, Events of a Military Life: Being Recollections after Service in the Peninsular War, Invasion of France, the East Indies, St. Helena, Canada and Elsewhere (London: William Pickering, 1843), p. 152.

5 ANQTR, records of Joseph-Michel Badeau, of Laurent-David Craig, of Valère Guillet and of Flavien Lemaître Lottinville.

6 PAC, RG1, C36, Vol. 40, p. 20210.

7 Surveyer Fabre and Francis-J. Audet, Les Députés de Saint-Maurice et de Buckinghamshire (1792-1808) (Three Rivers: Editions du Bien Public, 1934), p. 30.

8 ANQTR, records, Valère Guillet, 13 October 1848, No. 3851.

9 PAC, MG12, B, War Office 44, Vol. 613, B3459.

10 PAC, RG4, A1, Vol., 232, Part 1, No. 41, p. 57.

11 Henry Walter, op. cit., p. 152.

12 John Lambert, op. cit., p. 485.

13 PAC, RG4, B15, Vol. 18, p. 8845.

14 ANQTR, IAC, 48, Registry of the parish of the Immaculate Conception, 17 April 1821.

15 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 13 June 1821.

16 PAC, RG 31, A1, Lower Canada Census, 1825, C-718, pp. 1574-75; PAC, Rg 31, A1 Lower Canada Census, 1831, C-723; PAC, RG 4, A., Vol. 225, p. 84; PAC, RG4, B15, Vol. 18, p. 8824.

17 ANQTR, IAC 50, Registry of the parish of St. James, 14 May 1844.

18 ANQTR, records, Joseph-Michel Badeaux, 17 January 1844, No. 3588.

19 ANQM, records, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 24 November 1804.

20 ANQM, records, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 14 March 1809, No. 2033. John Munro is witness on the occasion of the sale of the moveables of the inheritance of the late Joseph Moussette. The deed states that he is living at Les Forges.

21 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 30 May 1820.

22 ANQTR, IAC, 50, Registry of the Anglican Church of St. James, Three Rivers, 1813 (March Hinds); 1820 (Elizabeth Barber).

23 Benjamin Sulte, op. cit., p. 184.

24 PAC, RG31, Al, Lower Canada Census, 1825, C-718, pp. 1574-75; PAC, RG31, Al, Lower Canada Census, 1831, C-723.

25 ANQTR, records, Louis-Charles Maillet, 3 November 1774.

26 Pierre de Sales Laterrière. *Mémoire de Pierre de Sales Laterrière et de ses traverses* (Quebec: Imprimerie de l'evénement, 1873), p. 84.

27 *Gazette de Québec*, 28 July 1778, 24 September 1778.

28 ANQM, records, Joseph Papineau, 26 May 1786, No. 679.

29 ANQTR, Papiers de justice criminelle, 1850, p. 157, note U.

30 ANQTR, Papiers de justice criminelle, 30 January 1846.

31 PAC, RG31, Al, Canada East Census, 1851, St-Maurice Co., C-1139.

32 Napoléon CAron, op. cit., p. 273.

33 Three Rivers. Archives du Séminaire (hereafter ASTR), N3-M414A, Dollard Dubé papers, p. 175.

34 J. David McDougall. "The Final Half-Century of Charcoal Iron Production in Quebec, 1861 to 1911," *Canadian Mining Journal* (August 1971), p. 175.

35 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 1 April 1807, p. 5.

36 ANQTR, records, A. Zéphirin Leblanc, 17 February 1834, No. 5834.

37 PAC, RG4, Al, Vol. 261, 26 December 1829.

38 Three Rivers. Archives du Palais de Justice (hereafter APJTR), Superior Court, case No. 281, No. 9, 10 March 1883.

39 ANQM, records, Joseph Papineau, 27 May 1786, No. 679, p. 18.

40 Napoléon Caron, op. cit., p. 290.

41 APJTR, 1830-40, case Le Domaine du Roi vs Hamel.

42 Napoléon CAron, op. cit., p. 269.

43 Albert Tessier, op. cit., p. 145.

44 Benjamin Sulte, op. cit., p. 184.

45 1741; Inventory of 1741; 1746: ANQM, records, Joseph Papineau, 27 May 1786, No. 679; 1793-1845: "office," room of H. MacAulay, kitchen: APJTR, 1830-40, case Le Domaine du Roi vs. Hamel; Governor's room: Benjamin Sulte, op. cit., p. 184; 1845-1883: chapel, room used as shop: Napoléon Caron, op. cit., pp. 290-73; east side rooms, caretaker's residence, chapel: ASTR, N3-M41A, Dollard and Dubé papers, p. 75 and "Notes prises sur les lieux," December 1932.

46 ASTR, N3-M41A, Dollard Dubé papers, p. 175.

47 ANQM, records, Joseph Papineau, 26 May 1786, No. 679, p. 23.

48 ANQTR, records, Jean-Baptiste Badeaux, 13 June 1821, No. 260.

49 Statement of Pierre Drouin who conducted the excavations of this building in the summer of 1971.
50 ANQM, records, Joseph Papineau, 26 May 1786, No. 679, p. 10.
51 Ibid., p. 17.
52 ANQTR, records, Jean-Baptiste Badeaux, 18 March 1785.
53 ANQM, records, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 20 March 1810, No. 2457.
54 Marie-France Fortier, op. cit., p. 89.
55 APJTR, charge against Catherine Dehaigle, October 1797.
56 Marie-France Fortier, op. cit., p. 89.
57 Napoléon Caron, op. cit., p. 269.
58 Ibid., p. 269.
59 Ibid., pp. 269-70.
60 Benjamin Sulte, op. cit., p. 184.

Domestic Life of the Workers

1 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 1st. 1807, No. 2047. The preceding leases, granted to Alexander Davidson and John Lee, to George Davidson, David Munro and Mathew Bell, and again to David Munro and Mathew Bell, refer to the lease granted to Conrad Gugy in 1783, with respect to the description of the buildings of Les Forges. This document, containing the description of the buildings, has unfortunately not been found during our research in the archives.
2 PAC, RG31, A1, Lower Canada Census 1825, C-718, pp. 1574-75,1-662.
3 PAC, RG4, A1, Vol. 219, No. 69.
4 ANQTR, records Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 5 July 1825, No. 235, summons of M. Bell on François-Baptiste Isabelle; ANQTR, records, Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 5 July 1825, No. 236, summons of M. Bell on Jean Grenier; ANQTR, records, Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 5 July 1825, no. 237, summons of M. Bell on Gabriel Duplessis; ANQTR, records, Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 5 July 1825, No. 238, summons of M. Bell on Alexis Corriveau; ANQTR, records, Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 15 March 1825, No.169, summons of M. Bell on Alexis Cailley; ANQTR, records, Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 15 March 1825, No. 170, summons of M. Bell on Joseph Cailley.
5 PAC, RG4, Vol. S-187, 2E-P, No. 99.
6 Engagement of Joseph Houle dit Jean-Claude: ANQM, records, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 26 March 1805, No. 446.
7 Engagement of Louis Pépin; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 12 December 1814, No. 2095; 20 December 1815, No. 2103: 18 December 1816, No. 2118; 25 December 1817, No. 2128; 22 December 1818, No. 2143; engagement of Jean-Baptiste Gagnon; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 12 December 1814, No. 2096.

8 Engagement of Charles Savarre: ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 24 December 1817, No. 2127; 22 December 1818, No. 2142; engagement of Jean-Baptiste Gueston dit Galand: ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 8 October 1815, No. 2102, 5 August 1817, No. 2122.

9 Engagement of Jean-Baptiste Fraser: ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 20 December 1815, No. 2104; 18 December 1816, No. 2109; engagement Etienne Bellerive: ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 18 December 1816, No. 2118; 24 December 1817, No. 2119, 22 December 1818, No. 2141.

10 Engagement of François Robert: ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 30 April 1819, No. 2146.

11 Engagement of Jean-Baptiste Rousseau and Louis Lamothe: ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 30 april 1819, Nos. 2146, 2147.

12 ANQTR, records, A. Zéphirin Leblanc, 24 April 1828, No. 2095.

13 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 3 July 1809.

14 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 12 February 1825.

15 ANQTR, records, Jean-Emmanuel Dumoulin, 11 October 1821.

16 ANQM, records, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 15 November 1808, No. 1898.

17 ANQTR, records, Antoine Badeaux, 23 March 1796 (Anderson); ANQM, records, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 20 March 1810, No. 2457 (Lacommande); ANQTR, records, Jean-Emmanuel Dumoulin, 2 August 1820; ANQTR, records, Joseph-Michel Badeaux, 28 April 1825, No. 201 (Raymond); ANQTR, records, Laurent-David Craig, 1st February 1853, No. 8106 (Cook); ANQTR, records, A. Zéphirin Leblanc, 29 April 1834, No. 5963 (Fraser); ANQTR Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 16 October 1848 (Sawyer).

18 ANQTR, records, Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 29 April 1848, No. 3958 (Imbleau); ANQTR, records, Z. Zéphirin Leblanc, 1 April 1834, No. 5940 (Slicer); ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 8 January 1820; 4 January 1820; 10 May 1822 (Robichon).

19 PAC, RG4-1, Vol. 5-225, p. 84.

20 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 1 April 1807 (Hereafter inv. 1807).

21 Inv. 1807, 3,5,6.

22 PAC, RG1, E1, Vol. 63, p. 106. "Report of a Committee of the Executive Council ... on the Subject of the Forges of St. Maurice," 26 September 1843.

23 Henry Walter, op. cit., p. 152.

24 Pierre Drouin, "Un secteur d'habitation d'ouvriers aux Forges du Saint-Maurice, 25G7-25G8 (1973-1975)." Manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Quebec (1977). (Now printed in the series Travail inédit., No. 254.)

25 ANQTR, records, Laurent-David Craig, 5 December 1830; ANQTR, records, Laurent-David Craig, 4 April 1845, No.

5488; ANQTR, records, F.-A.-Rivard Bellefeuille, 9 December 1851, No. 2369.

26 John Lambert, op. cit., p. 465; Henry Walter, op. cit., p. 152.

27 *Le Journal des Trois-Rivières*, 12 September 1865, p. 2.

28 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 17 July 1808.

29 Albert Goursaud, *La société rural traditionelle en Limousin* (Paris: G.P. Maissoneuve et Larose, 1976), p. 81.

30 ANQTR, records, Jean-Emmanuel Dumoulin, 15 June 1827.

31 ANQTR, records, Valère Guillet, 12 December 1837, No. 2451.

32 ANQTR, records, Joseph-Michel Badeaux, 17 December 1849, No. 4167.

33 ANQTR, records, Jean-Emmanuel Dumoulin, 11 October 1821.

34 Marcel Moussette, "Le chauffage domestique dans le Haut et le Bas-Canada (1759-1867)," Travail inédit No. 124 (Ottawa: Parcs Canada, 1973), p. 106.

35 Ibid., p. 106.

36 Ibid., p. 105.

37 Lord Selkirk, *Lord Selkirk's Diary 1803-1804*. ed., Patrick White (Toronto: the Champlain Society, 1958), p. 231.

38 John Lambert, op. cit., p. 153.

39 John Lambert, op. cit., p. 465.

40 ANQTR, records, Jean-Baptiste Badeaux, 22 June 1782, *donation* from Jean-Baptiste Delorme and his wife to Isabelle Delorme and Amable Chèvrefils dit Bélisle.

41 ANQTR, records, A. Zéphirin Leblanc, 11 June 1827, *donation* of François Moussette and his wife to Jean Moussette.

42 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 22 December 1815, No. 2105, engagement of 15 carters; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 18 December 1816, No. 2117, engagement of 15 carters; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 24 December 1817, No. 2126, engagement of 15 carters; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 27 December 1818, No. 2140, engagement of 15 carters.

43 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 12 December 1814, engagement of J.B. Fraser, smith £4.10/month; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 12 December, 1814, No. 2095 and No. 2096, engagement of L. Pépin, carpenter and J.B. Guetson dit Galand, carpenter £4/month; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 8 December 1815, No. 2101, engagement of J.B. Guetson dit Galand, £5/month; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 20 December 1815, No. 2103, engagement of Louis Pépin, carpenter £4.10/month; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 22 December 1815, No. 2105, engagement of J.B. Fraser, smith £5/month; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 18 December 1816, No. 2118, engagement of d'E. Bellerive, smith £6/month; of Louis

Pépin, carpenter, £4/month; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 18 December 1816, No. 2119, engagement of J.B. Fraser, smith £5/month; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 5 August 1817, No. 2122, engagement of S.B. Guetson, carpenter, £6/month; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 24 December 1817, No. 2128, engagement of Louis Pépin, carpenter, £4.10/month; No. 2127, engagement of Charles Savarre, carpenter, £4.10/month; No. 2129, engagement of d'E. Bellerive, smith £6/month; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 22 December 1818, No. 2141, engagement of d'E. Bellerive, smith, £6/month; No. 2142, engagement of C. Savarre, carpenter, £4/month; No. 2143, engagement of C. Savarre, carpenter, £4/month; No. 2143, engagement of L. Pépin, carpenter, £4.10/month; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 18 September 1819, No. 2152, engagement of Louis Dupuis, smith, £6/month.

44 Amount due to notary for preparation of an inventory: Joseph Moussette to Ranvoyzé, 26 October 1807, 60 L; Joseph Houle to N.B. Doucet, 15 November 1808, 25 L; Charles Lacommande to N.B. Doucet, 20 March 1810, 9L; John Samuel Lewis to J.E. Dumoulin, 2 August 1820, 36L; Joseph Raymond to J.M. Badeaux, 28 April 1825, £3.15, that is 78L; Julien Rivard to A.Z. Leblanc, 22 January 1830, 54L (inventory and transportation); Claude Imbleau to L.D. Craig, 28 March 1845, 96L.

45 Cameron Nish. "La Banqueroute de François-Etienne Cugnet, 1742," *Actualité économique*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (April-June 1965), Montreal, pp. 181-83.

46 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, July 17th 1808. Robichon marriage contract; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 12 February 1825, No. 26: Comeau-Chaillou marriage contract.

47 ANQM, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet marriage contract, 22 May 1804, No. 74: record of sale of the moveable estate of Augustin Gilbert and Louise Tassé, both deceased; ANQM, records, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 14 March 1809, No. 2033, sale of moveables from the estate of the late Joseph Moussette; 20 March 1810, No. 2548, sale of moveables from the estate of the late Charles Lacommande dit Lalancette; ANQTR, records, Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 9 May 1825, auction sale of the goods and chattels of the joint estate of Joseph Raymond and of the late Angèle Delhurel dit Flamand; ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 17 July 1808: auction sale of the goods and chattels of the estate of Thomas Cochrane (Mr. Bell's office).

48 ANQTR, records, Antoine Badeaux, 23 May 1796, auction sale of the moveables of the estate of the late John Anderson; ANQM, records, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 15 November 1808, No. 1899, record of the sale of the moveables of the estate of the late Joseph Houle dit Jean-Claude; ANQTR, records, Jean-Emmanuel Dumoulin, 25

October 1821, sale of the goods and chattels of the late Firmin Comeau and his widow, Marie-Antoinette Aubry.

49 ANQTR, records, Valère Guillet, 12 December 1794, sale of moveables by Louis Gendreau, journeyman, of Three Rivers.

50 ANQTR, records, Jean-Baptiste Badeaux, 25 July 1794, sale of moveables by Joseph Roy to John Anderson.

51 ANQTR, records, Laurent-David Craig, 10 January 1832, donation inter vivos by A. Pleau, Sr. of Three Rivers to A. Pleau, Jr., a workman at the ironworks; ANQTR, records, Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 14 July 1836, donation inter vivos by E. Rouet dit Vive-L'Amour to his son.

52 PAC, RG4, Al, Vol. 261, 26 December 1829.

53 APJTR, Superior Court, Case No. 281.

54 ANQTR, records, Jean-Baptiste Badeaux, 18 March 1785, a contract with respect to the hiring of Charles Lacommande dit Lalancette as a baker at Les Forges for a period of one year.

55 ANQM, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 20 March 1810, No. 2457.

56 Marie-France Fortier, op. cit., p. 89:
Dugré, Louis, 1810.
Peterson, Joseph, Sr., 1812 to 1836.
Belleaux, Pierre, 1829-31.
Peterson, Joseph, Jr., 1834-39.
Huot, Edouard, 1841, 1842. These dates refer to registration of legal papers with respect to changes in personal status.

57 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 1 April 1807, p. 6.

58 Marie-France Fortier, op. cit., p. 89: Comeau, Joseph, 1798-1800; Bouchard, Jean-Marie, 1802-31; Bouchard, Etiene, 1827-36. These dates refer to registration of a legal document respecting a change in personal status.

59 PAC, RG31, Al, Lower Canada Census, 1831, C-723.

60 ANQTR, records, A. Zéphirin Leblanc, 11 June 1827.

61 PAC, RG31, Al, Canada Census, 1871, C-677.

62 John Lambert, op. cit., p. 485.

63 Henry Walker, op. cit. p. 152.

64 PAC, RG4, Al, Vol. 5-191, No. 17-17A.

65 PAC, RG31, Al, Lower Canada Census, 1831, C-723.

66 PAC, RG31, Canada Census, 1871, C-677.

67 Prosper Cloutier, op. cit., p. 230.

68 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, January 1820.

69 Benjamin Sulte, Contes et légendes des Vieilles Forges, Coll. L.'Histoire régional (Three Rivers: Editions du Bien Public, 1954), No. 16, p. 7.

70 Agnès Desquand, Boire et manager en Sancerrois au temps de la cuisine à l'âtre. (Bourges: Imprimerie Desquand, 1977), p. 499.

71 Journal des Trois-Rivières, 12 September 1765, p. 2.

72 ANQTR, records, A. Zéphirin Leblanc, 11 June 1827.

73 ANQTR, records, Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 14 July 1836, No. 2366.

74 ANQTR, records, A. Zéphirin Leblanc, 23 July 1832. Donation inter vivos made by Bonaventure Bourbeau dit Beauchaisse, of Bécancour.

75 ANQTR, records, Etienne Ranvoyzé, 25 August 1819, No. 2632.

76 ANQTR, records, A. Zéphirin Leblanc, 11 June 1827. Donation inter vivos made by François Moussette and his wife; ANQTR, records, A. Zéphirin Leblanc, 23 July 1832. Donation inter vivos made by Bonaventure Bourbeau dit Beauchaisse, of Bécancour; ANQTR, records, Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 14 July 1836, donation inter vivos made by Marie-Louise Blondin, widow of the late Etienne Rouet dit Vive l'Amour.

77 ANQTR, records, Valère Guillet, 12 December 1837.

78 ANQTR, records, Petrus Hubert, 22 March 1840, No. 733.

79 Ibid.

80 See Note 76.

81 ANQTR, records, Jean-Baptiste Badeaux, 11 February 1784.

82 ANQTR, records, Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 29 June 1847.

83 ANQTR, records, Michel-Joseph Badeaux, 14 July 1836, No. 2366.

84 See Note 76.

85 Marcel Moussette, op. cit., p. 63.

86 Nora Dawson, op. cit. p. 111.

87 Journal des Trois-Rivières, 12 September 1865, p. 2.

88 John Lambert, op. cit., pp. 158-59.

89 Elizabeth McClellan, History of American Costume (New-York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1969), p. 230.

90 Basin: "A kind of fine, shaggy fustian made of cotton, with very little thread. It is a twill material." A. Furetière, op. cit., Tome 1.

91 John Lambert op, cit., pp. 150-60.

92 John Lambert op. cit., p. 306.

93 ANQTR, records, Jean-Emmanuel Dumoulin, 8 February 1819.

94 APJTR, Judicial records, 3 January 1848.

95 ASTR, N3-H2B - Histoire milice, 1835-38.

96 ASTR, Dollard Dubé papers.

97 ASTR, E3-546, Société de tempérance.

98 PAC, RG48, B30, Vol. 113, No. 79.

99 PAC, MG24, K13, 1832-46.

100 ASTR, Vieilles Forges, F2-V66, p. 1.

101 Ibid.

102 PAC, RG4, C1, Vol. 565, 2 September 1864.

103 PAC, RG4, C1, Vol. 589, 23 March 1866.

104 PAC, RG48, B30, Vol. 13, No. 79.

105 PAC, RG31, A1, Lower Canada Census, 1831, C-723.

106 APJTR, Civil judicial records, 10 September 1793.

107 APJTR, Civil judicial records, 23 December 1839.

Monographs of workmen

1 Benjamin Sulte, op. cit. pp. 139-41.

2 APB, MG23, G1, 4, Vol. 2, pp. 5-6, 1 October 1760.

3 PAC, MG21, B6, p. 163, letter of Haldimand & Murray, 14 September 1764. Robichon had obtained a repatriation certificate. He being the best workman at the ironworks was felt by Haldimand to be difficult to replace; PAC, RG4, A3, Vol. 26, p. 9, letter by Murray to Lt. Jas. Hull, transfer agent in Quebec, 31 August 1765. Murray requests him to provide free transportation to England for Robichon and his family. From England he would take passage to France on a French ship.

4 ANQTR, records, Paul Dielle, 29 June 1778.

5 ANQTR, IAC 48, Register of the parish of Immaculate-Conception.

6 Pers. comm. from M.-F. Fortier.

7 Ibid.

8 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 17 July 1808.

9 PAC, RG31, A1, Lower Canada Census, 1825, Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, C-718, p. 1575, Nicolas Robichon Sr. and wife: "born at St. Maurice, retired foreman, 78 years old, married, 1 woman," PAC, RG31, Lower Canada Census, 1831, Forges du Saint-Maurice, C-723: Nicolas Robichon Sr., forgeman, 2 persons in family.

10 PAC, MG21, B21-1 (21681), reel A-615, pp. 87-88, estimation of end-of-work wages of workmen, 1762; PAC, MG21, B21-2 (21681), reel A-615, pp. 123-24; statement of expenses of 22 October 1763 - 1 June 1764 as drawn up on 31 May 1764.

11 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 2 August 1820.

12 Ibid.

13 PAC, RG31, A1, Lower Canada Census, 1825, Forges St. Maurice C-718, p. 1575.

14 PAC, RG4, A1, Vol. 15-225, p. 84, 22 August 1829.

15 PAC, RG31, A1, Lower Canada Census, 1831, Forges St. Maurice.

16 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 16 May 1807.

17 Land purchase: ANQTR, records, Jean-Emmanuel Dumoulin, 20 September 1819; ANQTR, records, Etienne Ranvoyzée, 13 May 1820, No. 2807; construction of the house records, ANQTR, Joseph Badeaux, 4 January 1819; 4 and 8 January 1820; 10 May 1822; 27 May 1824; location of the house: ANQTR, Joseph-Michel Badeaux; 29 April 1820; 26 April 1824; No. 52; 3 May 1824; No. 57; ANQTR, A. Zéphirin Leblanc, 30 May 1824, No. 238.

19 PAC, RG4, B15, Vol. 18, p. 8824.

20 PAC RG31, A1, Lower Canada Census, 1825, Forges St. Maurice, C-718, p. 1575.

21 PAC, RG4, A1, Vol. 5-225, p. 84, 22 August 1829.

22 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 6 August 1807, No. 2050.

23 ANQTR, records, Jean-Baptiste Badeaux, 24 March 1786.

24 ANQTR, records, Jean-Baptiste Bordeaux, 30 December 1791.

25 ANQTR, records, Jean-Baptiste Badeaux, 25 October 1779. This document indicates that one Joseph Moussette, a resident of Les Forges and, being of age, did sell the 7th part of a piece of land situated in the seigneury of Champlain to his brother Michel. This land no doubt had come to him from the estate of his late father or mother. Joseph Moussette's baptismal certificate has not been foun[illegible]

26 ANQTR, record[illegible]oseph Badeaux, 16 May 1807.

27 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 6 January 1800.

28 ANQTR, records, Etienne Ranvoyzé, 26 October 1807.

29 ANQM, records, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 11 March 1809, No. 2028.

30 ANQTR, records, Joseph Badeaux, 28 April 1827, final payment of Nicolas Robichon to Marie-Louise Moussette, wife of André Cook.

31 ANQTR, records, A. Zéphirin Leblanc, 9 September 1832, No. 4821.

32 ANQTR, records, Etienne Ranvoyzé, 26 October 1807. In this monograph the inventory of the jointly held estate, drawn up on October 26 has been used. With the exception of the clothes it closely matches the post-mortem inventory drawn up following the death of Joseph Moussette, dated 11 March 1809.

33 ANQM, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 11 March 1809, No. 2028.

34 Ibid.

35 ANQTR, records, Laurent-David Craig, 4 April 1845, No. 5488.

36 ANQTR, records, Jean-Emmanuel Dumoulin, 21 July 1816.

37 The fact is recorded not in a marriage contract but in Maurice Sawyer's will: ANQTR, records, Laurent-David Craig, 21 October 1840, No. 3723.

38 1829: PAC, RG4, A1, Vol. 225, p. 80.
1834: ANQTR, records, A. Zéphirin Leblanc, 17 February 1834, No. 5834.
1840: ANQTR, records, Laurent-David Craig, 21 October 1860, No. 3722.

39 ANQM, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 18 December 1811, No. 3103; sale of the Jacques Tassé estate. The post-mortem inventory has not been found.

Appendix A

1 Table based on a chronological table of Les Forges prepared by Réal Boissonnault and Michel Bédard, pers. com., 1977.

Appendix B

1 PAC, MGL, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 67, p. 39.
PAC, MG18, J7, George Clinton Journal.

PAC, MG11, C.O. G2, Vol. 225, t. 2., p. 388.
PAC, MG19, C1, 1.
John Lambert, op. cit., p. 485.
PAC, RG31, A1, Lower Canada Census, 1825, C-718, pp. 1574-75.
PAC, RG4, A, Vol. 225, p. 84.
PAC, RG31, A1, Lower Canada Census, 1831, C-723.
PAC, RG4, B15, Vol. 18, p. 8824.
PAC, RG31, A1, Canada East Census, 1851, C-1139.
Canada Directory, 1858.
Canada Directory, 1861.
PAC, RG31, A1, Canada Census, 1871, C-677.

Appendix C

1 Jean Aubry inventory, ANQTR, Joseph Caron records, 7 August 1745; Joseph Aubry inventory, ANQTR, Jean Leproust records, 9 September 1750; Pierre Bouvet inventory, ANQTR, Louis Pillard inventory, 26 June 1755; Nicolas Champagne inventory, ANQTR, Louis Pillard inventory, 2 February 1755, an inventory of those effects reserved by the widow Champagne for her own use, an inventory of that property which the widow had agreed to sell; Inventory of Louis Chèvrefils dit Bélisle, ANQTR, Louis Pillard records, 22 May 1765; Inventory of Jean Delorme, ANQTR, Louis Pillard records, 15 April 1755; Inventory of François De Nevers dit Boisvert, ANQTR, Louis Pillard records, 26 March 1756; Inventory of Julien Duval, ANQTR, Jean Leproust records, 26 January 1750; Inventory of François Godard, ANQTR, Louis Pillard records, 20 January 1756; Inventory of Pierre Marchand, ANQM, Louis Pillard records, 8 and 9 July 1752; Inventory of François Perrin, ANQTR, Louis Pillard records, 14 June 1751; Inventory of Charles Desèves, ANQTR, Paul Dielle records, 13 March 1769; Inventory of Conrad Cugy, ANQM, Joseph Papineau records, 27 May 1786; Inventory of Louis Voligny, ANQTR, Benoît Leroy records, 15 February 1792; Inventory of John Anderson, ANQTR, Antoine Badeaux records, 23 March 1796; Inventory of Thomes Cochrane, ANQTR, A. Zéphirin Leblanc records, 10 February 1834; Inventory of Firmin Comeau, ANQTR, Jean-Emmanuel Dumoulin records, 11 October 1821; Inventory of Joseph Comeau-Chailloux, ANQTR, Joseph Badeaux records, 12 February 1825; Inventory of Augustin Gilbert, ANQM, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 22 May 1804; Inventory of Jean-Baptiste Gilbert, ANQTR, Joseph Badeaux records, 20 December 1799; Inventory of Joseph Houle, ANQM, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet, 15 November 1808; Inventory of Claude Imbleau, ANQTR, Laurent-David Craig records, 28 March 1845; Inventory of William Kenyon, Badeaux records, 3 July 1809; Inventory of Charles Lacommande dit Lalancette, ANQM,

Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet records, 20 March 1810; Inventory of Luc Lamothe, ANQTR, Joseph Badeaux records, 3 September 1810; Inventory of J. Samuel Lewis, ANQTR, Jean-Emmanuel Dumoulin records, 2 August 1820; Inventory of Zacharie MacAulay, ANQTR, Joseph Badeaux records, 13 June 1821; Inventory of John Munro, ANQTR, Joseph Badeaux records, 30 May 1820; Inventory of Joseph Moussette, ANQTR, Louis Ranvoyzé records, 26 October 1807; Inventory of François Pellerin, ANQTR, Laurent-David Craig records, 4 April 1845; Inventory of John Pullman, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet records, 24 November 1804; Inventory of Joseph Raymond, ANQTR, Joseph-Michel Badeaux records, 28 April 1825; Inventory of Julien Rivard, ANQTR, A. Zéphirin Leblanc records, 22 January 1830; Inventory of Pierre-Nicolas Robichon, ANQTR, Joseph Badeaux records, 6 August 1807; Inventory of Maurice Sawyer, ANQTR, Jean-Emmanuel Dumoulin records, 21 July 1816; Inventory of Jacques Tassé, ANQM, Nicolas-Benjamin Doucet records, 18 December 1811; Inventory of Jean Terreau, ANQTR, Laurent-David Craig records, 5 December 1830; Inventory of André Cook, ANQTR, Laurent-David Craig records, 1 February 1853; Inventory of Joseph Michelin, ANQTR, F.-A. Rivard Bellefeuille records, 9 December 1851.

Appendix D

1 Inventory of 1741, PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.1, pp. 39-109, F-112; Inventory of 1746, PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.2. pp. 260-66, F-112; Inventory of 1748, PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 112, t.1. pp. 285-92, F-112.

2 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 121, Tome 1, "Etat des droits pour l'imposition des droits à l'entrée et à la sortie sur toutes les marchandises entrantes au dit païs de Canada ou qui en sortiront."

Appendix E

1 Inventories of Les Forges of 1741, 1746, 1748 and 1760.

Appendix F

1 Inventories of Les Forges, 1741, 1746, 1748 and 1760.

Appendix I

1 ANQM, Joseph Papineau records, 27 March 1786: inventories of the goods and chattels of Conrad Gugy.

2 PAC, RG4, B17, Vol. 11, 6 March 1787: sale of the goods and chattels of Conrad Gugy.

3 PAC, RG4, Vol. 11, 19 March 1787, sale of the goods and chattels of Conrad Gugy.

Appendix K

1 Archives of the Palais de Justice of Three Rivers, Superior Court, Case No. 281, exhibit 9, being a record of the seizure of the property of George McDougall, 10 March 1883.

Appendix L

1 1784: PAC, Haldimand papers, B-225-2, pp. 388-89.
1831: PAC, RG31, A1, Lower Canada Census, 1831, Forges du Saint-Maurice, C-723.
1851: PAC, RG31, A1, Canada East Census, 1851, C-1139.
1861: PAC, RG31, A1, Canada Census, 1871, C-677.
1871: PAC, RG31, A1, Canada Census, 1971, C-677.

Source of Illustrations

1 PAC, PH/340, Three Rivers, 1735 (St-Maurice Forges), Dépôt des fortifications des colonies, Amérique septentrionale, 301C.
3 PAC, C-1241.
5 Eric Spenger Collection, Montreal.
4 Drawing by Capt. Arthur Pigott, unsigned, dated 1845, Archives of the Seminary of Three Rivers.
6 Jean Bélisle, "La grande maison des Forges du Saint-Maurice, témoin de l'intégration des fonctions, Etude structurale." Manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Quebec (1977). (Now printed in Manuscript Report Series, No. 307.)
7 Ibid.
8 The photograph of the charcoal-burner's hut is reproduced from a booklet by Jackson Kemper, *American Charcoal Making* (Hopewell Village National Historic Site, Hopewell n.d.), p.4.
9 Sketch by Dorothy Kappler, Parks Canada.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Photograph by Marie-France Verdon.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Photograph by Jean Jolin (25G 3L 19-1).
24 Photograph by Jean Jolin.
25 Photograph by Robert Derome. Collection of the Monastery of the Ursulines in Three Rivers.
26 "Clothing of Canadians," Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

27 Drawing by Frederick von Germann, Prints Division, the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Lenox Foundations.

28 Photograph by Marie-France Verdon.

29 Ibid.

30 Anonymous drawing, Gagnon collection, Municipal Library of Montreal.

31 Photograph by Marie-France Verdon.

32 "The Forge near Three-Rivers," detail from the drawing by Capt. Arthur Pigott, dated 1845, Archives of the Seminary of Three Rivers.

33 Ibid.

34 Anonymous drawing after a painting by Charles Huot: "Le père Jean-Baptiste Godbout," undated, Musée du Québec.

35 Painting by A. Suzor-Côté, Musée du Québec, from Hughes de Jouvancourt, *Suzor-Côte* (Montreal: Editions de la Frégate, 1967), p.9.

36 "By the Fireside, a French-Canadian Housewife," painting by Horatio Walker, end of 19th century, Musée du Québec.

37 Photograph by Marie-France Verdon.

38 Ibid.

39 Drawing by Edmond Massocotte, from *Un drame au Labrador* by E.W. Dick, Leprohon & Leprohon, Montreal, 1897.

40 Photograph by Marie-France Verdon.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Drawing by Osias Leduc, from *Claude Paysan* by Ernest Choquette, la Cie Bishop, Montreal, 1899, p.xxiii.

46 Photograph by Marie-France Verdon.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 PAC, drawing by Lieut. Sempronius Stretton.

51 Drawing by Fourchambault. Bertrand Gille, "La formation du prolétariat ouvrier dans l'industrie sidérurgique," *Revue d'histoire de la sidérurgie*, t.LV, Vol.4 (Oct.-Dec. 1963), Nancy.

52 Ibid.

54 John Lambert, *Travels through Canada and the United States of North America in the Years 1806, 1807 and 1808*, 2nd ed. (London: Cradock and W. Joy, Vol. II.)

55 Drawing by Fourchambault, op. cit.

56 Photograph by Marie-France Verdon.

57 Ibid.

58 "Paysanne à genoux ou le sanctus à la maison," painting by Charles Huot, end of 19th centruy, Musée du Québec.

59 Painting by Ida Braubach, 1871, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

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  MG8, A6, Vol. 12, 14, 15, 17, 18.
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MG19, C1, Vol. 1.
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MG21, G1, Vol. 458, 469.
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